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Alia Delivers Greeting to Nation on New Year

AU0101135589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Good evening and the happiest of new years, dear brothers and sisters.

In these moments, as we joyfully look forward to the new year of 1989, my heart and mind turn to your families to wish you, on behalf of the party and government, all best wishes, success in work, and happiness in life.

The year of 1988 brought fresh joys and victories to our people. Our socialist homeland took another step forward in economic and cultural development, and in consolidating the country's defense and its freedom and independence. Despite the well-known difficulties we experienced, greater social production was achieved in comparison with the previous year. As a result of the work, toil, efforts, and skills of our people, over 160 new projects were commissioned. The population's income has further increased in terms of all indices of socioeconomic development. 340 villages were provided with drinking water from new water utilities. About 50,000 people entered employment for the first time in the towns and countryside.

A series of marked successes were recorded during this year in education, science, health, art, and literature. The Ninth AWP Congress's target of attracting over 70 percent of elementary school pupils into secondary education was attained 2 years ahead of schedule. Albania's international position was further consolidated, and its activity in foreign affairs increased. The active and constructive policy of our country won the sympathy of new friends and well-wishers and consolidated our internal developments. The process of socialist construction in our country and the comprehensive progress of the nation are conducted according to the principle of self-reliance. This enhances the value of our victories. Every success we attain in different fields of economic, cultural, and social activity is the fruit of the work of our people, and is attained by relying only on the material, intellectual, and financial potential of the country. This fact assumes special importance when it is common knowledge that many bourgeois-revisionist countries are now undergoing major crises and upheavals, are plunged into debt, and have high inflation and unemployment. Our achievements testify to the vitality of our social order, to the inexhaustible creative energies of the people, to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the party, and to its lofty sense of responsibility toward the high interests of the homeland and the communist ideal.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, I particularly want to congratulate outstanding people in physical and intellectual labor, innovators and fighters for high productivity, and all those collectives and individuals who were in the forefront. We honor the miners and all the workers of our industry: wheat producers and stockraisers, builders and working people in transportation, teachers and creative workers in various spheres, and all those who, with their high results, bring joy to our celebrations.

We will always recall the year 1988 as the year marking the 80th anniversary of the birth of the glorious leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Just as all our people wanted, the party paid every tribute to its legendary leader. Respect for Enver Hoxha is love for socialism, determination to safeguard the freedom we have won, and a source of inspiration for fresh successes.

Dear comrades, 1989 charges us with numerous tasks. The plan recently approved by the People's Assembly envisages for this year the greatest economic growth of this decade. Total mobilization is being used to construct 230 new projects in the fields of production and culture. Most of them will be commissioned within the year. New investments will powerfully influence the development of the chemical industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, irrigation in agriculture, and consumer goods production, technical progress, and exports in particular. Next year, a range of tasks of the eighth 5-year period will be accomplished, and new horizons for further progress will be opened. Therefore, let us mobilize everybody's creativity. More responsibility and economic thinking is called for from workers and peasants, cadres and specialists, in the service of greater mobilization, initiative, discipline, and punctiliousness at work.

As of 1989 our people will have lived in freedom and socialism for 45 years. During these years of new life, Albania has undergone a radical transformation and has progressed in every direction. There is no greater pleasure for veteran communists and partisans—those who waged the struggle and brought freedom to the country, as well as for every generation of builders of socialism—than to see that their ideals live and flourish in all the good things we have, and that their ideals progress and are passed on from generation to generation.

May the great jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland become a special inspiration for fresh victories and achievements. Let us turn it into a year of comprehensive mobilization, so that the planned tasks in every field will be fulfilled through persistent labor, fruitful organization, and scientific study. Let the workers class, with the revolutionary spirit that characterizes it, arouse keen emulation throughout the country, so that more material and spiritual good things can be secured for the people. Our peasantry, inspired by the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives, will make 1989 a decisive year in increasing agricultural and livestock production as never before. Let the great jubilee of the liberation encourage our writers and artists, scientists, and intelligentsia to fresh creativity and increasingly useful work for the working people of our country.

I once more wish all of you—working people in town and countryside, cadres and managers, women, young people, our beloved children, and soldiers guarding the homeland—a good year full of successes, happiness, and prosperity. I also convey best wishes and greetings to all our compatriots, wherever they are, whose support and love for Socialist Albania have been and remain ardent.

Happy New Year, dear sisters and brothers.

Yugoslav Political Crisis Examined
AU2612143588 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 26 Dec 88

[Federal Yugoslavia and its Crossroads"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 26 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries in its issue of December 25 an article written by Prof Sofokli Lazri. It says:

It is already a long time that the internal situation of Yugoslavia draws the attention of the European opinion and the world one. The concern is understandable. At the present political situations in Europe no one can be indifferent towards the crises that grip various countries and that may lead to the heightening of tensions or the threatening of equilibriums which are very delicate on our continent at present. The more so this concern is justifiable if we bear in mind Yugoslavia's geopolitical position in the Balkans, the interlacing of foreigners' interests in this country, the danger that its inner problems and conflicts transcend its borders.

No-one may say what will be the direction and course of the actual events in Yugoslavia. But what they all express is the desire to see Yugoslavia stabilized, free, and independent, democratic and progressive, a community of united peoples and nations and fraternized on the ideal for which they made so many sacrifices and shed so much blood in the course of their liberation war.

There are many people in Yugoslavia and outside it who think that a solution of the economic crisis would automatically solve the other problems, not only social, but also constitutional and structural ones. It is much spoken particularly of creating a "free market" and of a "democratic regeneration" as the simplest and most effective roads to cope with the crisis. Theoretically this idea may be right, but practically, proceeding from the Yugoslav reality, it is completely simplified.

The fundamental conflict that has characterized and characterizes the whole life of the Yugoslav state, from its founding until now, has been that between the desires of Slavs of the South to unite to a free and democratic state and of the unquenchable thirst of the Serbian nationalists to dominate them. It was the collisions of these two currents that led to the fratricidal tragedies caused by Chetniks and Ustasi in the course of the Second World War, it is the collision of these two tendencies that have brought about feuds and actual political frictions among nations. Hence, neither the economy may progress, nor social problems can be solved without a suitable political atmosphere accepted by all the peoples of Yugoslavia. No one's logic can accept that economic progress and democratic regeneration are attained at a time when the national rights of peoples are denied and suppressed. In a multinational state such as Yugoslavia, consensus among nations constitutes also the fundamental condition for the political, economic solution, etc. Unfortunately, they in Yugoslavia are running against this historic condition at present. In the Yugoslav political stage there has appeared Serb nationalism with open hegemonic and unitarian claims, completely in opposition with the federal bases the Yugoslav state was erected on following the National Liberation War and the principle of consensus among nations widely applied in all the fields.

The transformation of multinational Yugoslavia into a unitarian state under the Serb hegemony would have grave consequences both in the internal and external aspects. There exists the danger and signs are noticed since now, that every economic, social and any other conflict be turned into a conflict among nations, which is as easy to burst out as it is difficult to be averted. At least history proves this. One of these conflicts is that of Kosovo, to call it the first, because that of Slovenia has already started, and the one of Montenegro is appearing in the horizon.

In the decisions of the Yugoslav party and state forums, the speeches of the leaders, in the press, books, at conferences and everywhere, it is written and spoken that the solution of the question of Kosovo is the "key to the Yugoslavia's coming out of the crisis." Indeed, it is so. The fact how the question of Kosovo will be solved is decisive for the directions of the coming development of Yugoslavia. Kosovo has been turned into a battlefield, where not only the fate of the Albanians is being decided upon, but also that of the Croatians, Slovenians, Bosnians and of the entire Yugoslavia. It has become the touchstone in what direction the said key will be turned. Will it be turned on the good side to open the door to democracy, equality, and harmony among the nations and peoples, or on the bad side, to cast them into a real prison of peoples like in the period when the Serb monarchy ruled. That is the question.

At the grand rally organised in Belgrade some time ago, the leader of the party of Serbia, Milosevic, in a very pathetic and warning way, stated that "We Serbs shall win the battle of Kosovo." He did not say we shall win also the battle for Slovenia, Montenegro, or Bosnia, but the bells he tolled in Belgrade were for all, for entire Yugoslavia.

As for the situation in Kosovo, the Serb leader lays the fault on the "numerous" national and democratic rights the Albanians allegedly have, the autonomy of Kosovo, the national liberation struggle that made them equal with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, the decisions of AVNOJ [Antifascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia] which created the Federation, the Constitution of 1974 which sanctioned these rights.

It has never happened that the rights of the citizens, the national equality and democracy lead to political and social conflicts. On the contrary, they have served as basis

and means to overcome them. Only the fascists found their cause in democracy and wanted to eliminate it.

But any kind of "miracles" is occurring in the present Yugoslavia. Some days ago, a Yugoslav paper wrote that Skanderbeg, the national hero of Albania and one of the greatest men the European Renaissance has known, allegedly has been a collaborator with a certain Xhafer Deva, a German agent in the Second World War. It is the same as to say that Jeanne d'Arc has been a friend of Pierre Laval. Another wrote that responsibility rests on Pashko Vasa regarding the present events in Kosovo, because in the last century he has said that "The religion of the Albanians is the love for Albania." The Belgrade newspaper POLITIKA frontpages a slab in which it is written in capital letters "Go ahead Slobodan, if necessary up to Tirana," so that, as it seems to establish "order" not only in Kosovo, but in Albania as well.

Anyone who sees and listens to these "pearls" will say that these are but a delirium. They might be such, but what should be said is that they are a result of the violent, chauvinistic fevers which avoid any logic and normal judgment. They are an offspring of the anti-Albanian psychosis created in Yugoslavia now, the hatred towards anything related to Albanians and their history, which is making the name Albanian a synonym of all the Serb words characterizing negative phenomena. For the Serb papers and speakers, Albanian means irredentist, separatist, annexationist, usurper, fascist, ignorant, criminal violator, chauvinist, nationalist, destabiliser, etc.

The whole of the Albanian history, not only the modern one but also the events that have happened before the Slavs came to the Balkans, are described as a single and unchangeable course of efforts for the creation of "Big Albania." Moreover, even the Albanian children born in Kosovo are born to create this "Albania" and to occupy the "Serbian vital spaces." The Serb zealous historians and writers put such a seal, which astonishes everybody, also to the wars of Scanderbeg against the Turks in the 15th century, to the Prizren League of 1878 which defended the Albanian territories from truncation, to the proclamation of independence in 1912, to our National Liberation War. If, for instance, the Albanians say that they are descendants of the Illyrians, according to these self-styled scientists, they commit a crime aiming at destabilizing Yugoslavia, the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and the creation of "a big Albania." Moreover if they speak of their original culture and traditions, they commit another greater crime, because they "glorify" a bad and dangerous past.

At present in Yugoslavia, there are already established two measures to weigh the Serbs' and Albanians' demands. When the manipulated Serbian crowds take to squares and shout "The Albanians be killed," this is trumpeted as "an rexpression of the people's spontaneity," as "political maturity of the masses," as a "high political consciousness of the people," as "a strong desire to strengthen the unity of Yugoslavia." Whereas when the Albanians demand that the autonomy of Kosovo be preserved, that the rights granted to them by Constitution be not encroached upon, then they launch counterrevolution, lay mines to the system, etc., as if the Constitution drafted by Tito and Kardelj and approved by all the republics and provinces was intentionally done to destroy Yugoslavia.

The existence of these two criteria and of a great nationalist blindness can explain the foolishness by the Skopje leaders who on one side seek to create a national identity for their people and on the other side deprive the Albanians of the identity they have created and affirmed through centuries, who seek to create their own language and do not allow the Albanian children to learn in their language created thousand years ago. The time of the creation and denial of nations has long since gone away, at least in Europe, but the Skopje politicians seem to think that the oppression of the Albanians will make the world admit the stale theses of their academy which they call Academy of Sciences.

The Albanians of Kosovo, Montenegro or Macedonia do not demand that a place be made to them in Yugoslavia, do not demand either privileges or mercy. They are in their soil just as the others are, therefore they want to be equal citizens with all the others, indiscriminated participants in building the political, economic and social life of the multinational Yugoslav state, that their national and democratic rights, their language and culture be acknowledged and observed. The Albanians' revolt stems precisely from the attempts of the Serbian nationalism not to accept both the Kosovo historic and objective reality and the whole Yugoslav reality.

In an interview granted to TANJUG some days ago, the federal defence secretary of Yugoslavia, the general, Veljko Kadijevic, stated that the "crushing of the counterrevolution in Kosovo is the main task in the field of defence." Kadijevic did not say that who should carry out this "task" but did not exclude his own soldiers either. But in this case it is not about the interpretations of this statement or of the hypothesis on it. What remains a fact is that the problems of Kosovo are political problems and as such they may be solved only through political means. The use of violence, of whatever kind it be, including also the military one, would further complicate the existing conflicts. If the tanks head for Kosovo they will find themselves in Belgrade. They will hardly return to their garrisons.

The winds of Serbian nationalism which have begun to blow hard cannot push the Yugoslav boat towards secure coasts, cannot create that necessary climate to prudently and calmly treat of the numerous and difficult problems preoccupying this country. They in Belgrade say that Yugoslavia does not wish to be out of the integration course in this continent, but it is difficult that these strong winds help it approach with neighbours, Europe and the world. Nationalism, and the political extremism stemming from it, cannot be that ideology or policy that suits the wide progressive processes characterizing the modern times both in relation to the internal life and the international one.

Zhivkov Address to Diplomatic Corps
AU0401174289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jan 89 pp 1, 6

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, at the 2 January meeting in Sofia with the heads of the diplomatic missions accredited in Bulgaria]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, comrades,

We meet again today, this time at the beginning of the new year 1989.

In the past, these meetings have always been an occasion for exchanging certain thoughts and hopes, and first of all, an appropriate time for answering a question that moves all of us: Was 1988 a peaceful and prosperous year, as we hoped it to be 12 months ago? Did it bring more security and calm to the nations and mankind, and more material and intellectual assets?

The processes of international life are complex and contradictory.

However, if we must unequivocally answer this question, then we must firmly say: Yes, 1988 was not only a dynamic year of hopes, but also a year of wisdom and prudence, a year in which many fruits of the new political thinking ripened.

The past year will enter the annals of mankind's modern history, first of all because of an unprecedented fact: For the first time in history the destruction of a whole class of nuclear-missile weapons began as a result of the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty.

We took many positive steps aimed at strengthening trust and cooperation, and at more confidently constructing bridges between the states, East and West, within various regions and subregions, and between different political and economic groups.

In this context, I would like to mention the favorable influence of USSR- U.S. relations on the international climate and on the efforts to construct the "all-European home."

The Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states that marked the beginning dialogue and cooperation in practically all areas, was a result of the new political thinking.

Events such as the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and the decisive progress in the efforts to peacefully resolve the conflicts in the southern part of the African continent, the Middle East, and the Persian Gulf region highlighted the political calendar of the past year. These events also positively influenced the world climate.

Naturally, the speech of Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session, while placing near the end in the chronology of 1988 events, was an event of primary importance. It was an example of statesmanlike approach and a real example of the policy of balance of interests, as opposed to the balance of power. This is how we could describe the exceptionally important Soviet ideas and proposals made from the lofty rostrum of the world organization.

All this testifies to the nature of the quickly changing and dynamic world in which we live and communicate with you, representatives of states from various regions, who profess different political, philosophical, and ideological opinions.

We all must face the new political situations of our time, and I believe that you would agree with me that the universal values and interests are its vital essence.

I must say with sorrow and pain that 1988 was also the year in which one of the greatest disasters that afflicted mankind occurred: the earthquake in the Armenian SSR. This great tragedy again proved that there is nothing more valuable or dear than human life, people, and every man. However, it also demonstrated something else: the great power of human solidarity, compassion, and charity.

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades,

Under the new conditions, we in Bulgaria are seeking our place in the sun, so to speak.

We are searching for the correct answers to the questions posed by life, analyzing the processes and phenomena, and on this foundation, forming our approaches from their internal and international perspectives.

In other words, we are advancing in the process of restructuring, which primarily aims at implementing the great potential of socialism, and the potential of every man, society, and the nation as a whole.

For us, 1988 will remain as the year of the recent BCP Central Committee December Plenum.

I think that I would not be exaggerating if I said that this plenum marked the beginning of a crucial turning point in implementing the July Concept on developing the People's Republic of Bulgaria as a highly evolved and civilized socialist state.

You have probably read the materials of the plenum that have been published in our press, therefore I shall not dwell on them in detail.

However, I would like to point out an important aspect of its decisions. I mean the cardinal changes in the structure of our national economy and asserting the company-based organization in various branches and activities.

What is the purpose of these decisions?

First of all, we aim at stimulating the interests of the producers, without which there is neither development nor prosperity.

Second, we clearly understand that our economy can no longer develop in an isolated manner, within narrow national borders.

Therefore we shall boldly advance toward comprehensively renewing the economic sphere on the basis of new forms of cooperation with the other countries—industrial production sharing, attracting investments, investing in foreign countries, consortiums, joint enterprises, and so forth.

Bulgaria more and more opens itself toward the world. It strives to develop broader cooperation with all states and in all areas of mutual relations—economic, political, cultural, humanitarian, and others.

In this context, we highly value your efforts and activity. They acquire special importance in today's mutually dependent world of intensive contacts and international communications.

I would like again to assure you that you find full understanding and support on the part of our party and state leadership, while the People's Republic of Bulgaria could be a reliable partner of the states you represent.

Please allow me to wish you and your families much health and personal happiness in 1989, as well as success in your highly responsible mission in the name of peace, understanding, and the prosperity of all nations.

According to the ancient custom, let us wish ourselves a peaceful and happy New Year 1989!

Zhivkov Receives Bush's Reply on Congratulations

AU0401205889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received a telegram from George Bush, vice-president of the United States, in response to the congratulations he conveyed to the president-elect on the occasion of his recent election to the post of U.S. President.

Among other things the telegram says: In preparing to face the challenges of the future, I eagerly expect to cooperate with you for the consolidation of world peace, and in working together we can be successful.

The telegram also expresses gratitude for the congratulations conveyed.

Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed With SRV

AU0401193889 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, December 4 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Vietnam signed here today an intergovernmental agreements for direct relations and joint enterprises and protocol for barter and payments in 1989.

According to the documents Bulgaria will provide to Vietnam motor trucks, electric hoists, agricultural and other machines, medicines, cotton textiles, chemistry products. For the Bulgarian market Vietnam will provide coffee, tea, jute, peanuts, canned fruits, tin and rubber.

The basic principles and directions for the development of the direct relations between the enterprises, as well as for the establishing of joint enterprises have been coordinated. The fulfillment of the reached agreements will create opportunities for the further development of the economic cooperation between the two countries, for its raising to a qualitatively new level.

State Council Adopts Economic Activity Decree

AU0301191989 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 3 (BTA)—With its president, Mr Todor Zhivkov, in the chair, the State Council of Bulgaria held a session today to consider a draft decree on economic activity submitted by the Council of Ministers.

The decree settles matters of principle and provides reliable guarantees for the reorganization of the national economy along company-based lines, covering all forms of socialist property. Wide-ranging opportunities are granted to Bulgarian commodity producers for joint work with foreign companies, for the use of modern mechanisms and forms in foreign economic relations. Conditions are thus provided for economic integration with the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, as well as for cooperation with the non-socialist countries.

The document makes provisions for a new economically based approach, consistent with the requirements of the company-based organization, to the socialist state's participation in running the economy and in regulating the activities of the companies, to increasing the working people's motivation for economic growth, to personalizing the work of all economic units and structures, to meeting the targets in the social sphere.

In the course of the debate, motions were introduced on amendments to the act.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, summed up the matters discussed.

The decree was adopted and will be released for publication.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 22-30 Dec

AU3012200588 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 23-30 December monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended a festive meeting in Blagoevgrad on 23 December, held to mark the 75th anniversary of the formation of the local party organization: Milko Balev and Petur Dyulgerov. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 23 Dec 88)

The following leaders received Igor Andropov, ambassador at large at the USSR Foreign Ministry, in Sofia on 23 December: Milko Balev and Dimitur Stoyanov. (Sofia Domestic 1800 GMT 23 Dec 88)

The following leaders held talks in Sofia with an LCY Central Committee delegation led by Marko Orlandic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, that visited Bulgaria from 26 through 28 December: Milko Balev, Dimitur Stanishev, and Yordan Yotov. (BTA 1440 GMT 28 Dec 88)

The following leaders attended the traditional meeting of the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with members of the Soviet Embassy, held in Sofia on 29 December: Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, and Dimitur Stanishev. (Sofia Domestic 2030 GMT 29 Dec 88)

In Sofia on 28 December, with Andrey Lukanov in attendance, Todor Zhivkov received Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR. (Sofia Domestic 1600 GMT 28 Dec 88)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, delivered closing remarks at a session of the BCP Central Committee Politburo held in Sofia on 22 December. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 28 Dec 88) In Sofia on 28 December he received Marko Orlandic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. (Sofia Domestic 1000 GMT 28 Dec 88)

In Sofia on 28 December, Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Marko Orlandic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. (Sofia Domestic 1000 GMT 28 Dec 88)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP CC, attended a meeting of Lovech Oblast People's Council in Lovech on 23 December. (Sofia Domestic 1600 GMT 23 Dec 88) On 29 December he left Sofia for Havana with a delegation to attend the Cuban revolution 30th anniversary celebrations. (Sofia Domestic 1600 GMT 29 Dec 88)

In Sofia Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, received a Spanish Foreign Ministry delegation led by Fermin Celada, foreign policy director general for Europe, which held talks in Sofia from 26 through 28 December. (BTA 1755 GMT 28 Dec 88)

Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee Bureau, attended a festive plenum of the municipal BCP organization in Strazhitsa on 23 December, held to mark the 75th anniversary of the formation of the local party organization. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 23 Dec 88)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting of the Council of the Sociology Society in Sofia on 23 December. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 23 Dec 88)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended the celebration of the anniversary of the formation of the local party organization in Stara Zagora on 23 December. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 23 Dec 88)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, signed a goods exchange protocol in Sofia on 28 December with his Soviet counterpart Konstantin Katushev. (BTA 1947 GMT 28 Dec 88)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP CC Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed Sofia on 25 December on a visit to Libya. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bulgarian 26 Dec 88 p 2)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met an LCY Central Committee delegation led by Marko Orlandic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, on arrival at Sofia airport on 26 December. (Sofia Domestic 1600 GMT 26 Dec 88)

Reaction to U.S. Downing of Libyan Aircraft

Called 'Unpardonable'

LD0501090989 Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 5 (CTK)—"The shooting down of aircraft in international territories is unpardonable, no matter if they are military or civilian," RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

Commenting on yesterday's downing of two Libyan military aircraft by U.S. F-14 fighters over international waters, the daily said that just as several months ago when a U.S. guided missile shot down an Iranian airliner, the Pentagon will also now seek various justifications for its military decision. The fact is that also this time the incident was not provoked by the victim.

Bratislava PRAVDA Comments

AU0501120189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jan 89 p 5

[Boris Latta article in the "A Word on Events" column: "On the Path of Violence That Leads Nowhere"]

[Text] In the situations resulting from the diverse events in the world, the United States, as a rule, takes the position of a proponent of constructive steps. It presses for political solutions to urgent problems, which is more or less the result of the changing atmosphere in international relations fostered, above all, by the present Soviet foreign policy orientation. Unfortunately, in the majority of cases, Washington's constructive attitude is not followed upon by the most important thing—by concrete actions. When it does decide to take them, they often have nothing to do with the real solution of problems. Instead, the contrary is true.

Washington's present maneuvering vis-a-vis the sovereign North African state, Libya, is a perfect illustration of this. As is known, the White House had accused Tripoli of producing chemical weapons in one of its plants, and even of planning to supply them to anyone who asks for them....

After the highest Libyan representative, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, vehemently rejected the aforementioned accusation, saying that the plant produces medicines, and even proposed an inspection by an international commission, one would have expected that Washington's attacks would end as fast as they began. This did not happen. The United States—the Reagan administration—continues to seriously flirt with the idea of a military attack on the aforementioned plant. This also arises from yesterday's CTK report which, citing the American television company CBS, states that the planning of the attack has reached an advanced stage. The plans have a concrete form. Calculations of the direction and windspeed have been made, so that after a possible bombing the fumes from the hit plant would not be carried to inhabitated areas.

How considerate! How progressive compared with the bombing of Tripoli and Banghazi in 1986, when American missiles and bombs killed many Libyans.

Washington also shows itself to be "considerate" of its allies France and Britain, who facilitated the attack by the American planes 3 years ago. At that time Paris provided an air corridor and London permitted the takeoff of USAF bombers from its territory [sentence as published]. A justified wave of criticism from the world public, including that of the soberly thinking part of the French and British population, was the "reward" for the two. Therefore, the Pentagon has decided to spare its allies further unpleasantness and plans to attack with cruise missiles launched from a submarine operating in the Mediterranean. The "economical" variant of the plan has still another "advantage," however. The aforementioned American television company CBS reported that using a submarine excludes the possibility of danger to the lives of pilots...

However, let us turn from the military aspect of the American plan to its political essence. The plan of the attack alone must be most vehemently condemned, even if Washington did have the evidence in hand. However, this evidence does not exist, because the United States has not substantiated its accusation of Libya with anything concrete. Juergen Hippenstiel, chairman of the West German Imhausen-Chemie company, the company which built the incriminated plant, has also spoken out against this accusation. He said there is no reason for such an accusation.

However, the American express train of destruction is on the move. It seems that even the statement by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher—well-known for her tough stances—that there is no convincing evidence of chemical weapons production in Libya, cannot stop it. Of course, this more moderate opinion has to be viewed through the prism of the aforementioned negative reaction by the public after the bombing attack in 1986. However, the train of wrath rushes forward and does not intend to spare anything in its way. Washington has even sharply protested to the FRG Government in connection with the aforementioned company.

Where are the U.S. resolutions to resolve problems at a negotiating table, which are so often proclaimed with pleasure? The American participation in solving the Afghan issue in Geneva, or in the case of the solution of the Angola problem—were they, perhaps motivated by the presidential election campaign, by the chase after votes? Let us recall in this connection the telling statement by the not so long ago "hot" candidate for the U.S. Presidency, today leader of the Republican Party in the U.S. Senate, Robert Dole: "I support the government's decision to bomb Libya."

It is necessary to mobilize forces throughout the world which are able to prevent the American express train of hatred and destruction from arriving at its destination. What is involved is the world public's opinion and realistic political thinking in international relations, which would isolate the dangerous policy "from the position of strength," the policy of military-political pressure and aggression.

Pan Am Plane Carried 'U.S. Military Mail'

AU0401163489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jan 89 p 7

[CTK dispatch: "Contents Not Checked"]

[Text] Frankfurt/Main—The State Prosecutor's Office in Frankfurt/Main confirmed yesterday [2 January] that the Pan American aircraft which crashed in Scotland on 21 December had been carrying both registered and ordinary mail, but that its contents had not been checked prior to takeoff. Referring to this source, the West German magazine BUNTE wrote in its latest issue that the mailbag had consisted of four bags of American military mail weighing a total of 10 kg, and of one container with documents from an American bank, the Manufacturers' Hanover Trust Company, weighing 17 kg.

Lenart, USSR Ambassador Hold Talks

LD3012173988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Today Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Viktor Lomakin, Soviet ambassador to Czechozlovakia. During a friendly conversation they briefed each other about the work of both fraternal parties.

Soviet Committee Official Arrives for Visit

AU0501112789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefs" column]

[Text] Yevgeniy Silin, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, arrived in Prague yesterday at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

CEMA Representative Discusses Common Market

LD0401212489 Prague CTK In English 1944 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 4 (CTK)—The main intentions which inspired the birth of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) 40 years ago—exchange of economic experiences, technical assistance and exchange of raw materials, foodstuffs, machines and implements—were not only fulfilled but also highly exceeded, Jaromir Obzina said here today.

Speaking at a press conference, the Czechoslovak deputy premier and permament representative in the CMEA noted that the important role of the grouping in world economy is documented by the fact that the member states, accounting for less than one-tenth of the world population, produce 21 and 14 per cent of the world industrial and agricultural output respectively and account for almost 21 per cent of the world national income.

However, the deputy premier said, the CMEA member states have not sufficiently reacted to all new basic and decisive aspects of the development of world economy. They did not board the train of the scientific-technological revolution in the 1950's and as a result failed to keep pace with the most developed capitalist states in all spheres.

This situation was also influenced by some of the own problems and shortcoming of the individual member states as well as the CMEA as a whole, especially in the price and currently-financial mechanism, in scientific-technological development and legal and organizational issues.

These and other barriers, as well as inconsistency in the fulfilment of some measures, contributed to the insufficient degree of specialization and cooperation and insufficient introduction and development of progressive technologies.

As a result, mutual goods exchanges became less dynamic, the average annual rate of their development dropped from 8.1 per cent in 1971-75 to 3.2 per cent in 1981-85. This had serious political and social consequences, which made it imperative to restructure the economies of most CMEA member member states, the management of their economic cooperation and integration and reorganize the CMEA and its activity.

Answering questions, which concerned mainly steps to stop the gap between the CMEA and the most developed capitalist states from widening and issues of the establishment of a CMEA common market, Jaromir Obzina noted that the CMEA adopted programs for 15-20 years to solve topical problems.

These programs are aimed at fulfilling all tasks of the socio-economic progress of developed socialist society and at the same time come near and, if possible, match all the substantial indicators of the economic level of very advanced capitalist countries.

He described the creation of a customs and financial union, real convertibility of the ruble at first within the CMEA and eventually also externally, and finally sufficient quantities of goods on the market as the main prerequisites for the establishment of a common market of the socialist countries.

Experts To Participate in UNAVEM in Angola

AU0501092389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Statement of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Prague—As we have reported an agreement on a political settlement in southwestern Africa was signed in New York on 22 December. The implementation of the Angolan-Cuban agreement on the gradual withdrawal of Cuban units from Angolan territory will be supervised by the United Nations. This has been approved by the Security Council, which has requested 10 states to send their military experts to the UN corps of observers, UNAVEM. The states that have been approached include the CSSR, which has complied with the UN request. Ivan Kulhanek, press spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced in this connection that it has been possible to accommodate the request thanks to the understanding of the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA]. A total of seven CSLA military experts will participate in UNAVEM. The first three Czechoslovak officers will arrive in Angola in a few days; by 20 March they will be joined by another four CSLA military experts. As observers, they will take part in supervising the withdrawal of Cuban units which helped defend Angola's sovereignty and independence.

Party Delegation Departs for Cambodia

AU0401143189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Brief Information" column]

[Text] A CSSR party and government delegation, headed by Stefan Murin, CPSL Central Committee member and first deputy premier of the Slovak SR Government, departed yesterday [2 January] for Phnom Penh to attend the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of Victory Day in the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The delegation was seen off at the Ruzyne Airport by Josef Laska, deputy head of a CPCZ Central Committee department. Chhin Sun An, charge d'affaires of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the CSSR, was also at the airport.

Haman Statement at CPCZ Plenum

AU3012094588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 88 p 4

[Unattributed report on statement of Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPCZ's Central Bohemian Regional Committee, during the discussion at the 12th CPCZ Central Committee Session on 15 December]

[Text] First of all, I want to express full support for the proposal submitted here by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium: to hold the 18th party congress as early as May 1990. One of the most important reasons for this is, I believe, that the preparations for the congress, its deliberations, and its results will greatly stimulate the further acceleration of the social and economic restructuring process. Also, in the Central Bohemian Region, the absolute majority of Communists and a large number of working people are identifying themselves with the intentions and goals of restructuring, particularly as specified in the resolutions of the seventh, ninth, and tenth CPCZ Central Committee sessions. During such rapid changes it is only natural that the views on the contents, rate, and course of restructuring and on the forms of realizing it form a broad spectrum. We encounter expressions of impatience, but also various doubts and self-indulgent misgivings about the necessary radical changes. The period preceding the congress will provide us with opportunities to overcome unclear ideas and incorrect views, to consolidate the conviction that restructuring (as a creative Marxist-Leninist prospect of developing socialism) is both inevitable and irreversible. It is the only foundation on which one can and must consolidate the unity of party ranks, enhance the party's authority, increase the attraction of its policy, and consolidate its ties with the people.

I also want to express full support for the intention to implement all the new things which restructuring is introducing into our party life in the congress preparations, so that the principle of voting by secret ballot, the length of tenure, etc. will apply fully to both lower and upper levels—so that the congressional preparations will proceed in the spirit of broad democracy within the party, a frank exchange of views on all issues, and a critical, truthful evaluation of results, regardless of the personalities involved.

At the same time, we need a realistic and constructive approach—not an empty negative one. This will contribute toward reviving our party life and will help elect to party offices people with great personal authority, people who are both capable of and determined to consistently implement the line of restructuring.

The present course of restructuring in our region confirms the general evaluation contained in Comrade Jakes' opening speech. We, too, have noticed distinct progress: People are more frank, they are more critical in analyzing shortcomings and their origins, they show greater courage in looking for new approaches. The number of examples of how to implement the new methods is growing; however, we must frankly say that we have not yet succeeded in achieving a real shift in our work, we have not penetrated all plants and localities, or stimulated people to make a real, broadly based, vigorous effort and take specific steps in restructuring. That is why, in preparing for the congress, we will emphasize the ideological-political issues which are linked with restructuring.

The preparations for the congress will be carried out at a complicated stage of development, which will confront us with a tangle of many political, ideological, and

economic demands. The comprehensive solution of political and economic tasks is becoming the condition for all success. The decision to speed up the implementation of the new economic mechanism is based on the undisputed need to shorten the present transitory period, to rapidly finish shaping the new organizational and management structures, and to use the impact of this period to resolve material problems and prepare the next 5-year plan. Next year we will be confronted by a mass of extremely extensive, basic organizational, economic, and methodological changes. That is why we think it right that the inevitable risks involved in this are being pointed out frankly. Restructuring does not take place in a laboratory—it is a complicated social process which cannot avoid conflicts, experiments, searching, or various backlogs which will have to be eliminated on the march. That is why a thorough in-depth elaboration of the entire strategy of the transitory period, the profound interlinkage of individual steps, and a prompt reaction to the emerging problems and new phenomena are so important. A great deal will depend on the approaches and sense of responsibility shown by the executive staff (above all Communists) in enterprises. In our region we will guide them toward this—but we also expect the results of structuring the new central office for the national economy and the results of its more efficient work to appear far more rapidly. For instance, we cannot permit the solution of certain unsolved problems in the plan to drag on for 6 months or more, as before.

The first experience tells us that a number of new state enterprises show a positive tendency to think and work under conditions of self-financing. However, many other enterprises still seem mostly to mark time and to lack the initiative to speed up innovations and to rationalize the management structure; they seem unwilling to bite into the sour apple of egalitarianism, to part ways with slovenly employees, and so forth. This gives rise to justified criticism that a lot of talk is going on about restructuring, but that nothing really gets done. We cannot afford to let the slogan about socialist entrepreneurship remain a mere embellishment of public oratory. We have frankly told the executive staff that every progressive initiative would get our support, and that those who fail to grasp what restructuring really demands cannot expect to hold an executive post.

The experience acquired during the first stage of adjusting the organizational structures of production factors unambiguously tells us that it is essential to make better use of the broad spectrum of organizational forms. Wherever this seems expedient, we must count on setting up a larger number of various voluntary associations in order to provide for activities which medium and smaller enterprises cannot effectively provide on their own. We still notice endeavors to preserve inordinately large complexes. Likewise, a speedy clarification of how to resolve the considerable differences in the economic starting base of individual enterprises would make it easier to assess the organization of production factors. We must tackle with greater determination the adjustment of the internal organization of ramified state enterprises, thus enabling the worker collectives in individual structural units to acquire maximum independence in economic accountability and responsibility, eliminating the economically unsubstantiated redistribution processes between well run and poorly run units, and enabling these units to assert their right to elect their senior staff, councils of worker collectives, etc. It is also important to solve the issue of adopting a statute for setting up small state enterprises (particularly in the sphere of services), which would have the simplest possible internal organization, rules of economy, etc.

An important component in preparing worker collectives for restructuring lies in the elections of directors and of councils of worker collectives. According to what we know, the elections are helping to promote the democratization of cadre policy and to consolidate public control over the professional, political, and moral qualifications of senior staff. Of course, it is impossible to overlook some of the problems which have cropped up around the elections. It is important to fully appreciate their political significance, to realize that they are also a test of the Communists' political authority and influence on collectives, and to improve the comprehensive preparation of elections.

We are entering the period of restructuring the economic mechanism under none-too-easy internal and external economic conditions. So far, it has proved impossible to overcome the long-standing inconsistencies between the development of quantitative and qualitative trends in plan fulfillment. The common economic denominator of all these phenomena, of all shortcomings in supplier-consumer relations and so forth, lies (in many respects) not only in our failure to halt the tendency toward an imbalance, with all its accompanying negative phenomena, but also in the fact that this tendency is intensifying. We all know that the economic balance is an essential condition for the successful functioning of the new economic mechanism. That is why its implementation and the renewal of economic balance are an inseparable whole. I therefore consider it a good thing that the 1989 plan and budget are oriented toward this. A whole series of well-considered specific steps in support of this intention must be worked out and consistently implemented in order to consolidate supplier-consumer relations, to increase pressure on quality and on the adjustment of products to the demands of the market, and to speed up structural changes.

The present period of revolutionary changes places new, literally daily demands on party work and, above all, on the primary organizations and on Communists, who have to respond to the people's questions and comments day after day in the front lines at their workplaces. Many primary organizations are acquiring valuable experience, acting as the political core of the worker collectives, and marching at the head of the restructuring process; they enjoy authority and are able to influence the people.

However, the standards of activities carried out by individual organizations and of the process of restructuring the party work differ considerably. Quite a few organizations are still fettered by ancient stereotypes, isolation, and an inability to apply the party's policy under specific conditions in an independent and enterprising way..

The present is urgently demanding that we concentrate our attention on mass work, that we react more promptly to the various moods and rumors, fight for the people's way of thinking with greater effect than to date, and exert an appropriate influence on the public opinion. For this, we want to make far greater use of the public opinion polls than in the past. What we are concerned with is to give contemporary content to the motto "facing the masses", to develop the policy of frankness, to intensify democracy and self-management, to supply the public with information and to provide for public control, and to intensify our relationship with the people who are not party members and to activate the policy of the National Front. In our region during the past 2 months, we have had joint public meetings of the national committees and the National Front, which were attended by almost 170,000 adult citizens, and also talks with young people, which were attended by up to 55,000 participants. These meetings and talks have confirmed that we always find support and an open ear if we conduct serious, frank talks with the working people, with our citizens and our young people. We want to develop this experience; we want to conduct an honest, informal dialogue with the people; we want to guide the functionaries so that they regard a lasting dialogue with the citizens as their primary task; and we want to teach them to accept honest criticism, but also the fact that opinions diverge, as well as to realize that no important problem which concerns the people can be resolved without the people.

Ideological-political issues are of basic significance for the development of party work—especially at the present stage; and the emphasis is placed particularly on explaining the ideological-theoretical foundations of restructuring. For us, the historical initiative of the CPSU with respect to the renewal of Leninism has opened the way toward a creative solution of the tasks of further socialist development.

'Relapse Into State Terrorism' in Mediterranean

LD0501114589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0635 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The BERLINER ZEITUNG, which appears in the GDR capital, views yesterday's downing of Libyan aircraft by U.S. fighters as "a relapse into state terrorism." "What many people in the present-day world political climate already consider impossible has become real again since yesterday: gunboat politics of the most evil kind."

"What on earth is going on in the heads of those responsible in Washington?" the newspaper asks in a commentary published today. "This government, which in the past years has played a part in the political solution of a series of conflicts in the world, and which through a certain ability to compromise has made a contribution to making possible the entry into disarmament—does this government wish to torpedo with all its might the approaching easing of tension in the international situation, as in the old days?"

The pretext on which the United States is stirring up tensions in the Mediterranean—namely, the assertion that a chemical weapons factory is being built in the North African country—was flimsy. The fact that the United States rejected Libya's offer of on-site inspection showed that those responsible in the White House had something else in mind.

The BERLINER ZEITUNG states that the relapse into state terrorism is aimed much more at the sovereign state of Libya as such. Moreover, it appeared that the United States, on the eve of the Paris conference on chemical weapons, wished to poison the atmosphere of these discussions. "But exactly this conference, which was originally proposed by the United States itself, would be a forum where one could talk constructively about a world free of chemical weapons and about the peaceful settling of conflicts in this area. Washington's present military action can scarcely be a model for this conference."

Libya-GDR Friendship Society Condemns U.S.

LD0401220189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1852 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The U.S. policy of threats and blackmail against Libya, which contravene international law, is strongly condemned by the GDR-Libya Friendship Society in a solidarity statement made public in Berlin Wednesday that declares its solidarity and alliance with the Libyan Arab people.

"This policy is aimed against all peaceloving forces in the world, against the positive changes in international relations that have been taking place recently. It is thus all the more necessary to halt the imperialist gun boat policy in the nuclear age to prevent a torpedoing of the switch from confrontation to detente. Reason and realism are needed to prevent the worst," the statement says.

Kessler Notes Lack of NATO Disarmament Concept

LD0401214989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1816 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—NATO has still not put its own disarmament concept on the table, Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler stated Wednesday during a commemorative event for the 30-year anniversary of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy in Dresden.

"In the place of constructive responses to the Soviet Union's truly historic peace initiatives we only hear excuses and continually new preconditions, further and further-reaching demands on the USSR, the GDR, and the other Warsaw Pact states right up to massive attempts at intervention in their domestic policy and legislature."

The minister described military service under socialism as the responsible service of peace. At present a process is taking place to put into practice the tasks for national defense which arise out of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine. In view of this, the speaker affirmed the necessity of always safeguarding defense capability at the required level.

Further Disarmament Steps Supported

AU0501114389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jan 89 p 2

["W.M." article: "The Squaring of the Circle"]

[Text] Will the road that was followed—with the treaty on the elimination of USSR and U.S. intermediate-range missiles—be continued with further steps in 1989? The question is justified in as much as there are powerful opposing forces at work that have by no means given up yet. What is clear to us is that all efforts have to be made in order to make the initiated positive change in international relations irreversible. The socialist countries, which are aiming at a world without nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, will resolutely advocate this. However, what is NATO going to do? Will it finally bring itself around to responding constructively to the proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries?

The influence of the socialist peace program means far-reaching problems for NATO, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG lamented, and described any decision that aimed at replacing the "Lance" missiles with further-reaching weapons as "difficult even from a political point of view." Now this daily referred to the decisions that the FRG is facing in the military field as a challenge that is similar to that of the squaring of the circle. If, by deciding against any modernization of the missiles, the FRG Government responds to the desire of the FRG public, this will mean a shock for NATO, the paper continued. If the FRG were to come up to the expectations of its NATO partners, the parties in power would be threatened by losing votes in the approaching

elections. There is an increasing desire among their supporters, too, to refrain from modernization, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG noted.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, a daily, which if in doubt always supports armament instead of disarmament, puts the question wrongly. The government in Bonn is not at all facing a hopeless dilemma or a problem that could not be solved. Who would be shocked by a decision against modernizing the "Lance" missiles, and thus, against undermining the treaty on intermediate-range missiles? Nobody else but antiprogressive persons, people who are devoted to nuclear deterrence of an alleged threat from the East, people of the sort of NATO General Secretary Woerner. Not the peoples in the other NATO states.

Even less so the citizens in the FRG. Because, a majority of them are against any modernization of missiles. After all, they do not want to become the victims of those missiles, on which even prominent government politicians commented: The shorter their range the more dead the Germans. The solution of the alleged squaring of the circle is very simple. Further disarmament steps have to be agreed upon together with the Warsaw Pact member states, steps that provide more security for both sides. To make even NATO realize this, so that negotiations may be initiated, is a praiseworthy task.

EC-U.S. Trade Conflict Viewed

AU0301170389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jan 89 p 2

["W.G." commentary: "A Conflict Is Culminating"]

[Text] We have all heard about the "steel war," the "noodle war," and the "broiler war," which were waged between the United States and the EC. Every time, advantages in markets were at stake, and the striving for more profit was involved. A new war is now emerging. A title has already been found: The "beef war." This time, the dispute has been triggered by the EC's statement that should be understandable to ordinary citizens: Hormone-treated beef from the United States is no longer allowed to be imported. The regulation took effect on New Years' Day. This was answered by the United States, where the harmful use of hormones in the feeding of cattle is a matter of course, with the threat of imposing penalty duties of up to 100 percent on food imports from the 12 EC member states.

Of course, neither side is really concerned about the health of the consumers but is trying to push the rival out of the market.

Whatever the consequences of such trade wars may be, the social consequences of the rivalries between the powerful competitors will ultimately have to be borne by the working people of the respective economic branches on both sides.

Western commentaries have suggested that it might not only be hormone-treated beef or its equivalent in the form of tomatoes, beer, honey, or fruit juices that are involved. For one thing, the EC ban on U.S. beef comes at a time when even a one-half percentage point decline in goods exported to the EC represents a setback for the export offensive that has been launched by Washington, and when the United States is confronted with a total trade balance deficit of $150 billion. For another, the EC is preparing the "single market" by the end of 1992, which the United States fears will have another negative impact on U.S. sales in Western Europe.

In other words, the most recent skirmishes between the United States and the EC seem to be only the prelude to more fundamental conflicts—between the United States and the EC, but also concerning the third imperialist power, Japan. The guns have been loaded. The contradictions are intensifying.

Honecker's New Year's Address to Nation

AU0301153489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Dec 88 p 1

[New Year's address by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State on the occasion of the beginning of the new year, issued in East Berlin; date not given: "With All Good Wishes for the New Year"]

[Text] I convey to all citizens of the GDR my warm wishes at the end of the year, in addition to my good wishes for the new year; for your personal well-being, happiness, and success; and for a peaceful life. May our socialist fatherland—the homeland of the working people—continue to flourish.

Last year many events occured in the international arena which affected mankind. As a result of the efforts of the socialist states and all forces of reason and realism, to safeguard world peace, important positive results were achieved even if, unfortunately, much that gives cause for concern still remains. At the same time, we had to solve economic tasks of new dimensions in our country, which often demanded more of us than we had been used to day by day. The firm relationship of trust between party and people proved itself in an impressive way and made it possible to master even complex problems.

We can thus draw up a positive overall balance sheet for our joint work in 1988 and ascertain further substantial progress in the shaping of advanced socialist society in the GDR. Continuity and renewal characterize our path. The course adopted at the 11th SED Congress, which is in line with the conditions and interests of our country in both the domestic and foreign policy sphere, was once again borne out by practice. The unity of economic and social policy, as a strong motivationg force of performance readiness and performance capability for the welfare of the people, promote a stable and dynamic economic growth. This trend has now been taking place

over a considerable period. Since the seventies the produced national income has increased each year at a notable rate in international terms. The most important aspect here is that economic growth has been completely sustained by the increase in labor productivity over the past few years.

The broad application of key technologies and socialist rationalization, which is increasingly encompassing every enterprise, made a decisive contribution to this. We are rightly proud that this year our research teams produced the first one megabit storage circuit and developed the technology for the manufacture of these types of products, which are of world standard. At the next level, the four megabit storage circuit is now being worked on. It is indicative that we are getting ever closer to top international standards and are keeping pace with the increasing tempo in important spheres. This is true of microelectronics and its connection with engineering, for the comprehensive application of electronic data processing and for the higher degree of refining of material.

The scope of the tasks to be solved is by no means small. We realistically assess our achievements and know what remains to be done. The demands placed on us by foreign markets are becoming greater, as was already evident in 1988. This and other factors which affect the rhythm of production in the national economy require appropriate decisions and also additional efforts and expenditure. It is important that we further develop the performance of the national economy, also in view of many unforeseeable circumstances, and prepare with today's results the ground for progres in the coming year.

The sense and purpose of all efforts is and will remain for us the well-being of people. It was in this spirit that we continued to implement in 1988, as well as many other sociopolitical measures, our great housing construction program and were able to hand over the 3 millionth new flat to its tenants. We will solve the housing question as a social problem by 1990 and thus fulfill an old dream of the revolutionary German labor movement. Here, as is known, we are keeping the rents stable, just as we are the prices for basic necessities, fares, and services. Not the least of the gratifying news is that beginning 1 December 1989, over 3 million citizens will draw an increased pension.

In the GDR, 1988 was another year of full employment, while mass unemployment remained in the FRG and in other Western countries. It was a year of a further increase in social security for us, while to the west of our borders fear for the future is the daily companion of imnumerable people, and the new poverty is spreading. Here we have a high standard of education for all people's children; there, education is in crisis. Here we have free health care for the citizens; there, there is a policy of cuts in this sphere especially. One can quote much more that gives socialism a human face in our country and that differentiates it from those regions where the jungle law of profit still rules.

At the new year, I want to thank all of you from the bottom of my heart, who have contributed to your industry, your initiative and your responsible actions in accordance with the principle: Work together, plan together, govern together; to the overall results of our GDR. These thanks are extended to the workers, the collective farmers, the members, of the intelligentsia, the cultural workers, women, youth, and the labor veterans; they are extended to the members of the armed services for their selfless commitment to the protection of peace and the security of our people.

The year 1988 was also primarily a year of world political changes, which fortify our confidence that an improvement of the international situation and the replacement of confrontation by cooperation can be achieved. but here we do not ignore the fact that mighty opposing forces are at work and by no means consider themselves to be defeated. The dismantling and the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles in accordance with the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States was begun. To the world forum of the United Nations, Mikhail Gorbachev announced new, far-reaching initiatives and proposals for conventional disarmament, such as the withdrawal—agreed upon with our countries—of significant contingents of their Armed Forces from the GDR, the CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic. These were further unilateral advance concessions which rightly deserve to be called historic.

With its policy of dialogue and cooperation, the GDR actively worked toward banning the danger of a nuclear holocaust for mankind and toward radically reducing conventional armaments and armed forces. It staged the internationally acclaimed Berlin international meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones. Despite other differences, the representative participation demonstrated its clear-cut standpoint that international consciousness must increasingly determine future development for the benefit of peace and security.

When since the end of the WWII has the threat of the annihilation of all human existence been as great as today, when huge capacities of nuclear weapons are present? But when, also, have the chances for a permanent safeguarding of peace been as tangible and extensive? The peace program of the Warsaw Pact states, which the GDR has actively helped shape, offers constructive steps for utilizing these chances. We have permanently worked for this and will continue to exhaust every possibility for advancing the disarmament process in the nuclear and conventional sphere.

If the year 1988 had brought NATO's departure from its concept of deterrence and its striving to compensate for the elimination of intermediate-range missiles through the modernization of both nuclear and conventional weapons, the world might be able to breathe more easily. Since this did not happen, it is all the more important to strengthen the struggle for disarmament and bring about

a nonaggression capability of the military alliances. We attach particular importance to the halving of strategic offensive weapons under adherence to the ABM Treaty, a halt to nuclear weapons tests, a ban on chemical weapons, a drastic reduction in conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

There is no doubt that the strengthening of socialism has been decisive in this respect. In the socialist countries, with diversity in their unity, far-reaching development processes are taking place and suitable solutions for their problems are being sought in each case. We are following this attentively. All progress for the benefit of our fraternal peoples are at the same time a gain for our common cause, for the international position of our community.

My meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev reflected the unshakeable friendship and firm solidarity between our two parties and states and renewed confirmation of the concurrence of our views about the principled questions of foreign policy and socialist construction. The SED and the GDR people support the CPSU's course, as anchored in the decisions of the 27th party congress. At the same time, the CPSU and the Soviet people support the course adopted by the SED at our 11th congress. We will continue to raise the level of our fraternal relations, which are exemplary in intensity and diversity. The deep sympathy and solidarity of people in our country with the victims of the earthquake catastrophe which afflicted the USSR in Armenia particularly underline the strong ties which have developed between us.

We will embark on 1989 with a view to the 12th SED Congress, a year in which we want to progress along the path of the 11th congress and which has new, great tasks in store. We will tackle them, relying on the creative work performed in the past few months, in order to define the next steps in the further shaping of advanced socialist society in our country. The focus is on the ever closer linking of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the benefits of socialism. We have decided to resolutely continue the changes in the structure of our economy on the basis of the key technologies, and indeed to speed it up.

No state can maintain a prominent economic position in the world and safeguard and consolidate the living conditions of the people, without keeping pace with the rapid development of productive forces in the international arena. In socialism one can state that a modern, high-performance material-technical base is the most important pre-condition for socially secure conditions. Our course of the unity of economic and social policy is not least derived from this fact.

Even more so than the preceding one, the new year will be characterized by the struggle for top performances, by the comprehensive use of the results of our microelectronics in the most diverse fields, accompanied by modernization and rationalization throughout the entire length and breadth of the economy. These sources in particular feed in a planned way economic dynamism and the higher efficiency of production. We are counting on this for the expansion both of our position on the world markets and the extension of the production of high-quality consumer goods for the population. It is obvious that with this approach, the quality of labor at each workplace and the quality and reliability of the products have extraordinary importance.

All this lies behind—the growth rate noted in the economic plan—of the national income by 4 percent and net production in industry by 6.5 percent. These achievements form a solid basis for our social policy. Thus 212,200 apartments will be either newly built or modernized in 1989. Real income will also increase once again next year and the people's working and living conditions will continue to improve. No one can produce miracles, fulfil all hopes at once, or solve all problems at once. But, as has been the case for years, we are implementing our economic policy for the benefit of the people step-by-step, steadily, and predictably. This will continue to strongly influence the everyday life of people in our Republic in 1989.

In our economic strategy the close cooperation in CEMA, especially with the Soviet Union, is a decisive pillar, particularly in the areas with a promising future. During my meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, the future prospects for this cooperation were further mapped out. The principle of jointly mastering the tasks that are decisive for the strength, greater attractiveness, and appeal of socialism is more valid than ever. It was in this spirit that our exhibition in the Soviet capital demonstrated the performance level of the GDR and also the particular importance which the Soviet Union has for us as a partner in the cooperation in science, technology, and production.

All in all, the starting positions for 1989 are good, and we can be confident. Our socialist GDR has existed for almost 4 decades. Resurrected from ruins and oriented toward the future, it has reached a level of development which hardly anyone could have imagined at the end of World War II. Now many generations are engaged in this great work of construction. Their life's history is bound up with the history of the GDR, and their pride in what has been jointly accomplished is fully justified.

With new initiatives in socialist competition in all social spheres, we are preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil. To the further strengthening of our Republic for the benefit of the people and to a secure peace!

Romania, CSCE Document Commented On
AU0401145889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Jan 89 p 1

[Front page editorial by Denes Gyapai: "Conjuring the Middle Ages"]

[Text] The recent announcement made in Bucharest according to which Romania refuses to sign the final document of the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna can hardly be considered unexpected. We deeply hope and are even sure that, despite Nicolae Ceausescu's position, the process of security and cooperation in Europe will not stop, because the diplomats and experts who have been negotiating in Vienna for more than 2 years have been and still are carrying out meticulous work which is always open to compromise and which is being carried precisely in order to come to an agreement.

We have known for quite some time that the Romanian side does not agree with some formulations of the final document. Of course, this is the right of a sovereign country. However, the reasons for this refusal give rise to indignation in every good-willed person who has at least an elementary knowledge of politics and perhaps some knowledge of history, too.

The Romanian secretary general and president had the nerve to claim that the document in question "will set mankind back to the conditions prevailing 500 years ago, to the age of the Inquisition," an age no doubt characterized by religious bigotry, persecution of progressive thinkers, torture, and auto-da-fe. Well, mankind definitely does not want this. However, nothing is further from the intention of the delegates striving for a consensus than secretly bringing the evil age and spirit of inquisition back into our times. On the contrary, they try to protect mankind from those who try to hinder the free practice of religion and the freedom of conscience. The delegates are taking a stand in favor of people who are fostering their ancestors' religious habits, places of worship, churches, and their entire cultural heritage, and these delegates are taking a stand against all those who are threatening all these things and who constantly violate human dignity.

This Romanian rejection represents a particular self-exposure. Ceausescu's "arguments" were practically meant to answer the New Year message delivered by Pope John Paul II. In his message, the head of the Catholic Church raised his voice in favor of respecting the rights of national minorities. The Hungarian National Assembly also reacted to the papal message and stressed "the recognition of every single person's inalienable dignity, irrespective of his race, culture, nationality, or religion."

If only Romania also understood for once that respect for human rights, including the feelings of religious people, is a fundamental requirement in the big family of nations. In the meantime, Bucharest will become isolated and left alone in a period when, at long last, attractive prospects have opened up for the cooperation of mankind.

Leaders Cable Congratulations to Cuba
LD3012195988 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 30 (MTI)—On the occasion of the national day of the Republic of Cuba, the 30th anniversary of the victory of the revolution, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have jointly cabled their greetings to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Council of State of the Republic of Cuba and the Cuban Council of Ministers.

Economic Expert Comments on Reforms
AU3112163988 Vienna KURIER in German 31 Dec 88 p 11

[Interview with Ivan Lipovecz, economic expert and editor-in-chief of the HVG magazine, by Helen Dichtl in Budapest: "Will the Border Remain Open?"; date not given]

[Text] KURIER: Mr Editor-in-Chief, Hungarian tourists have been buying freezers, television sets, and stereo equipment in the West for months. Is it not to be feared that this enormous drain of foreign currency might give rise to stopping the liberal traffic across borders?

Lipovecz: It need not be stopped. In my view it will slow down by itself. For various reasons. First: Hungary has a regulation that every citizen is given a certain limited amount of foreign currency for tourism by the state. This means he can get from the National Bank or from an official body about 20,000 forints for a period of 3 years. I assume that a great number of Hungarian citizens have exercised this right already in 1988. Therefore, they will not get any official foreign currency for the next 2 years. In total, the National Bank has sold more than $300 million to the Hungarian citizens in 1988. Of course, purchases abroad have also been made with illegally acquired foreign currency.

It is estimated that about $500 million have been used, $100 million of which are probably legally deposited in various foreign currency accounts and another $100 million are illegal money. Many needs have been met with this. I do not know whether the demand for freezers, etc. would be equally great under equal conditions next year. Some laws that will come into force at the beginning of the year are supposed to additionally dampen the buying spree. In the week before Christmas the new foreign currency and customs regulations were announced. The most important thing is a new regulation for foreign currency in tourist accounts: So far this

foreign money, which was saved by Hungarians in so-called tourist accounts, could be spent only abroad in connection with a trip. As of the beginning of the next year, Hungarians may spend this money in their own country.

There are already a number of shops that sell their goods for forint and also for dollars. Officially, however, the Hungarians have not been permitted to pay in foreign currency. In the future, they will be permitted to do so, and this will bring more business. And the things that one could buy only in Nickelsdorf [town on the Austrian side of the border] will be available also in Budapest. This is the result of the local authorities adapting to the needs in order to keep this money or part of this money in our country if possible.

KURIER: And who will bring this equipment that is currently available in Nickelsdorf to Hungary?

Lipovecz: Every enterprise that is working in the import business.

KURIER: You think this is going to work?

Lipovecz: It will not work without problems. That is clear. However, a new situation will develop. If these shops now become freely accessible to Hungarians, it is certainly to be expected that the goods will be bought here and not in Bruck/Leitha or Wiener Neustadt [two Austrian towns] or somewhere else.

KURIER: But you are not happy about the double parity in the shops?

Lipovecz: No. I see the danger of the stronger currency impeding the weaker one—that is our currency. It will then become superior to the country's currency. And that is bad. This has been noticed in Poland, for instance, and in Israel in the past.

KURIER: The liberalization, however, also abolishes some benefits: The 10,000-forint exempt amount for duty-free goods per person is to be abolished. ...

Lipovecz: Yes, this will be changed. However, the details of this change are not yet known. They will come into effect only during the second quarter of the year. The 10,000-forint exempt amount for every trip is to be abolished. In return, customs recognizes the value shown on the bills of the purchased goods. So far, duty had to be paid for the value the goods have in Hungary.

KURIER: Have the Hungarians actually saved enough money for more purchases?

Lipovecz: About 285 to 290 billion forint are in the accounts of the National Savings Bank.

KURIER: This will all go into consumer goods?

Lipovecz: I do not think so. The most important goal for which people in Hungary save money is to build a house or to buy an apartment.

1989 National Economic Plan Outlined

LD2912220888 Budapest MTI in English 2106 GMT 29 Dec 88

["1989 National Economic Plan"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, December 29 (MTI)—The government set the major targets and guidelines for the 1989 National Economic Plan along with the system of expedients of implementation, partly stipulated by laws and other decrees of legal force.

Characteristics of the economic processes in 1989:

The fundamental requirements of government's stabilization programme have been fulfilled by the Hungarian economy in 1988.

A) The accruement of the stock of debt is slowed down. Though the deficit of the convertible balance exceeds the planned 500 million dollars, it is less than last year. Due to the introduction of the world passport, the population hard currency requirement is far above the sum calculated for 1987 and 1988. Foreign trade balance, largely due to the increase in exports, improved by 600-700 million dollars as compared to 1987. The slight increase in rouble-accounting trade, and the drop in surplus is in line with plans.

B) The results are largely due to the world economic boom and the measures taken to encourage exports, and only to a minor extent to rising efficiency or restructuring. Production increased by around 1-1.5 per cent. Despite the drought, agricultural output also went up considerably. Neither the volume nor the composition of the increase in industrial output lived up to requirements because raw material production expanded while that of the processing sector stagnated.

C) Within a declining domestic consumption the ratio of accumulation is increasing. There are fewer state investments and more company investment projects. In aggregate, investments are slightly going up against the planned drop.

The consumption of the population is decreasing. Due to the central price rises adopted at the end of the year, the consumer price level is about one per cent higher than planned. The increase in real incomes and real wages fall slightly short of the planned.

D) The introduction of the systems of value added tax and personal income tax brought about huge change in economic management. The forms and institutions of the

influx of capital expanded and the organization of administration was streamlined. No fundamental turn took place in the development of market relations and the attitude of the management and the companies.

Reduction of the budget's income-redistributing role was not achieved. The budget's 20,000-million forint deficit is significantly less than last year but it exceeds the envisaged 10,000 million forints without reserve. Financial balance improved but the balance between selectivity and external balance requirements have not been established to the desired extent.

The 1988 economic achievements are significant but unsatisfactory for lasting development. The problems accumulated over the past one and a half decade of an economic policy that broke away from the mainstream of world economic development are more severe and the tensions more varied than the government programme expected.

Main characteristics of the 1989 economic development:

The major national economic target in 1989 is to rapidly build out the conditions of a market economy in the interest of providing conditions for stabilization and advance. The government's economic policy gives priority to launching lasting integration into the world economy, and the establishment of an efficient production structure that adjust to foreign market requirements. These targets must be implemented so foreign economic balance already improve in the short-run, by means of expanding the range and developing the spirit of enterprise, improving export capability and establishing market relations that force an increase in profitable convertible exports.

The government is prepared to face the unavoidable risk and tasks related to the temporary losses and social tensions.

In keeping with the targets, besides considerable restructuring, the government is seeking to improve the balance of payments, which means a decrease of 50-100 million dollars in convertible deficit and 100-200 million roubles decrease in the surplus. To this end Hungary must have a 400-500 million dollar surplus in convertible export and a 100-150 million rouble deficit in imports.

In harmony with the requirements of the economic policy targets, the change of production and domestic utilization—as compared to that in 1988—is forecast as follows:

gross domestic product production	approx. 0 pc
industrial production	-1 to 0 pc
national construction-assembling	approx. -2 pc
production of agricultural products	0 to 1 pc
domestic use of gross domestic product	approx. -1 pc
consumption of the population	approx. 0 pc
per capita real income	approx. -1 pc
communal consumption	-8 to -7 pc
national economic investments	1 to 2 pc

If the foreign economic balance and production develop less favourably than planned, domestic utilization should be reduced to a greater degree, however, in a more favourable situation, the surplus can be turned to improving the foreign economic balance and to accelerating restructuring and easing social-welfare tensions.

A) In the interest of accelerating the transformation of the economic structure, the scope of movement of profitable economic organizations will expand and conditions of entrepreneurial activity improve. The considerable liberalization of import management, of shaping prices and wages, and the financial recognition of company managers, and the continuous reduction of the unnecessary administrative restrictions of management extend the development opportunities of independent, competitive ventures. The development of the securities market, increasing the economic independence of business banks, their joining into organizing the tasks of the population, as well as the currency market promote the enlivening of ventures.

Encouraging the marketing and leasing of state assets, and the establishment of institutions for handling state property aim at the rational reorganization of property relations. The operation of the law on business associations, and the introduction in 1989 of the law on transformation which promotes its more effective enforcement, and the amendment of the company law, and the cooperative law promote expanding the flow of capital, and streamlining the organizational system.

The state assists the transformation of the economic pattern in 1989 by operating a streamlined export tender system, by providing central technical development means, by benefits provided to founding joint ventures and implementing the central economy develoment programmes, by encouraging the flow of foreign capital into the country, by guarantees provided for the protection of foreign investments, by developing certain areas of the infrastructure, and by accepting to solve a part of the employment problems.

B) A fundamental condition of realizing the plan is an effective price and financial policy, regulation of the purchasing power, and firm anti-inflationary governmental conduct. It is the intention of the government that the degree of price rises be lower than in 1988, should wage increases develop in harmony with the performances. The government intends to prevent the strengthening of inflationary effects with market building activity, with a strict budgetary and monetary practice, and with the price authority and intervention means available (tactical purchases, the mobilization of state stocks, target-oriented offer expanding actions).

The deficit of the state budget surpasses 20,000 million forints.

In the interest of implementing the stabilization programme, the government makes preparations to be able to launch a comprehensive price, budgetary, wages and social-welfare policy reform coordinated in its steps, from 1990. In this context, the streamlining of the government's organizational system is to continue.

C) In 1989, imports of mainly machines and components that introduce developed technology and technics can increase. The government intends to expand and accomplish the liberalization of import in the framework of a several years-long programme.

The surplus originating from tourism should be increased alongside maintaning the foreign currency system of the population.

D) The number of unemployed is to increase as the effect of restructuring. The system of unemployment aid should be introduced. The amount of the employment fund is to increase to almost twice the 1988 amount. Priority should be given to solving the problems that accompany the restructuring of iron metallurgy and coal mining, and implementation of the development conception of the north Hungarian region should be launched.

E) Real wages will further decline, to a smaller degree than in 1988 (by about 4-5 per cent). A central wage increase with a sum of 4,100 million forints will be provided over the average wage increase to moderate the wage arrears of workers of health care, education and public education.

Prices of certain fundamental food products, household energy carriers, passenger transport, pharmaceuticals, conduit water, sewage services, private cars, newspaper, and certain postal services will increase greater than the average. Three-fourths of the price hikes of fundamental products and services should be counter-balanced for persons receiving pensions, and social-welfare care. The government will continuously follow the development of prices, wages and the development of the foreign economic balance during the year. However, it intends to intervene only to correct processes that considerably differ from the planned. It mainly intends to achieve this by the application of price and exchange rate policy, and fiscal and monetary management means.

Factory Reacts To Defense Budget Cuts

LD3012123888 Budapest MTI in English
1121 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 30 (MTI)—The Godollo-based machine factory is working out new production and market strategies to offset the drop in the military industrial orders forced out by the defence budget cuts. The factory engaged in servicing the armoured vehicles of the Hungarian People's Army and the manufacture of components and spare parts lost half of its orders. Export accounts for 70 per cent of the factory's output while products for civil consumption only for 1 per cent. On the long run the factory is planning to manufacture car components and excavators. Talks about a vehicle industry cooperation are underway with several South Korean firms.

Party, Democratic Forum To Negotiate

LD3012121288 Budapest MTI in English
0930 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 30 (MTI)—Leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) and the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) will launch negotiations late January or early February next year. In this context Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, said in radio programme Friday morning that 1988 was the year of decisive change with the emergence of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. The HSWP also has to acknowledge the trend that has been latently present at the Hungarian society for more than a decade, it has to shake hands with HDF and launch talks.

On behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Forum Zoltan Biro answered Janos Berecz. He said that 1988 was really an exciting year of turn [as received] but he was still overwhelmed with doubts if the hands would be strong enough to pull the carriage out of the mud.

Answering a question on what the representatives of HSWP and the HDF agree Mr Berecz said that 'the introduction of a multi-party system depends not a decision but on whether social development would bring about it or not. [No end quotation marks received] Should it come into existence, the HSWP must adapt.

Mr Biro agreed with Mr Berecz and added that such issues could be decided with the word of power, at least not without causing severe tension.

There was no home political issue in which the two parties could not come onto agreement, the point was to maintain dialogue, said the secretary of the HSWP Central Committee. The two sides, however, hold differing views as regards the Hungarian-Romanian relations. Mr Berecz said that Hungary must hold to the traditional alliance. In contrast Mr Biro said that 'the [word indistinct] which states about an alliance that does not exist that it does must be done away with [sentence as received]. We have tremendous responsibility for Transylvania and the ethnic Hungarians living there, and we have to take this responsibility. Hesitation or silence cannot help here any longer. A radical policy must be pursued.'

Janos Berecz added: 'The representatives of the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania must also be heard.'

Rift Between Youth Groups Examined
LD3112111088 Budapest in Hungarian to Europe 0200 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Why is FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] so ready to take offense? The answer is given by Andras Langmar, cochairman of the FIDESZ. The leadership of FIDESZ decided not long ago to leave MISZOT [National Council of Hungarian Youth Organizations], not out of a readiness to take offense, but because its statute had been repeatedly breached. For example, MISZOT wrote a letter on behalf of the entire membership to the Minister of State expressing its intention to participate in the sessions of the Interest Coordination Council, whereas the membership had not even been asked for its views on the issue.

According to the FIDESZ leaders, it is feared that such steps could lead to the revival of old practices and to certain groups within MISZOT gaining exclusive power. This makes it impossible to carry out politics in an open fashion, whereas thorough debates cannot be avoided if a real public consensus is achieved, Andras Langmar says in MAGYAR NEMZET.

Central Committee Leaders Give Speeches

AU0401135089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 88 pp 4, 5

[Unattributed roundup of speeches from the floor of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 20 December]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Julian Kraus, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR committee of the Bielsko-Biala car plant: Before martial law, I said from this very rostrum that we should suspend democracy, because anarchy was encroaching upon us. Today I say that democracy should be restored. What is more, we should approach certain solutions more boldly. As far as my factory is concern, whether there is one trade union in it or two is no problem. [passage omitted]

Stanislaw Weglinski, Central Committee member and coalminer: From the experience gained so far, it emerges that our party must not only be a credible and genuine one, but it must also rid itself of its facade-like nature and the vestiges of bureaucracy. Most of all, it must be a party of young people, in other words a party that seeks out capable and forward-thinking people.

It is no secret that we have not acquired many young people recently. We are faced with the disturbing phenomenon of an aging party. One of the symptoms of this is the archaic work style, especially in lower-level party bodies. The work of many primary party organizations is confined to the holding of meetings and training sessions. We can no longer afford to waste time on empty, unproductive talk, which does not provide much. The party's work style must prove that the party is open to innovative thinking and work. [passage omitted]

General Tadeusz Szacilo, Central Committee member and chief of the Polish Army Main Political Administration: To a major extent, the Politburo theses meet social expectations halfway. Much of what they say can still be considered debatable, but generally speaking, they contain innovative thoughts and appropriate solutions.

The military members of the central party authorities render their full support to the strategic line of these theses and the resultant tasks. I would also like to say that the Central Committee, with its considerable power to criticize the Politburo, should at the same time render its support to the reshuffled Politburo because, in accordance with its statutory powers, the Politburo should be united around the realizations of the tasks ahead of us. The plenum will also be important in preparing for the Third Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference.

In the light of our experience, we cannot agree with the view that our entire history is one whole series of mistakes and distortions. We fully agree with the words of the first secretary in his introductory speech whereby playing down the achievements of People's Poland will not be tolerated. Those who insist that our history is purely a period of harmonious development and success are probably not right, either.

Clear political and social progress has been interrupted by periodic crises and distorted by decisions and practical activities that clash with socialism's ideological principles and objectives. That is why socialism has been unable to reveal all of its potential values. In my view, the theses provide a correct assessment of the phenomenon of Stalinism. However, Stalinism was, in fact, alien to the Polish political culture, but even so it did have its keen executors and imitators in Poland. Hence the demand to settle scores with and overcome Stalinism. Society also considers the party's attitude to this issue as a measure of its credibility. So it is good that the theses do not gloss over this sensitive problem.

Overcoming Stalinism should be viewed in two aspects, as it were: a theoretical-political aspect, and a practical aspect. It is necessary to reassess and reinterpret phenomena, rehabilitate innocent people, and deal with the guilty ones. It is necessary to investigate various claims and remove the vestiges of Stalinism from social life. This will be an essential, though difficult and painful, operation. One must also expect losses, for the political adversary will try to convince people that these distortions are an integral feature of socialism.

Just as Stalinism came to the front out of a specific sociopolitical background, so too there have to be suitable conditions in order to overcome it.

Just as Stalinism came to the fore under specific sociopolitical conditions, so too must it be eliminated under specific conditions. Since the war, there have been many commissions charged with investigating the reasons behind the distortions of previous eras, but only one commission has seen its report published and treated as an official party document—the Kubiak Commission.

The line of socialist renewal laid down at the Ninth Congress is the most consistent program of eliminating the vestiges of Stalinism. One must also remember that the implementation of this line was seriously endangered by the events at the beginning of the 1980's. Martial law, another anniversary of which passed us by last month, ended these dangers and slowly created the conditions for implementing the economic reform and line of socialist renewal.

The 10th plenum should make it clear that there is no clash between martial law politics and today's politics, as some people suggest, but a logical connection between them.

It is very good that the 10th plenum theses say clearly for the first time that socialism in Poland rose out of Polish soil, out of Polish history and culture. Therefore, socialism was not imposed upon us. International conditions

merely create external conditions which may accelerate or delay internal social processes. So it is not war that brought socialism to Poland, though it did influence this process.

The Polish Army will unwaveringly guard external security in the Warsaw Pact coalition. It will take part in performing socioeconomic tasks to the best of its ability.

Criticism of the army is to be heard here and there, for various reasons. They concern national outlay on the army and its training system, as well as its numerical status and other matters. If we avoid succumbing to the atmosphere of street rallies and base our facts on sober calculations, then, for the sake of our own security, in no way can we allow the existing balance of forces to be disturbed, for it is the basis of modern international relations. Despite the claims of some pseudo-pacifist groups, today's world is still not free of military danger, even though the scale of this danger is tangibly decreasing.

Parodying the 10th plenum slogan, we can rightly talk about an army in change, and changes in the army. We are making major structural changes to the armed forces in order to modernize them and reduce their numerical status at the same time. This will bring the state measurable financial advantages. We are already implementing these changes. They are permanent, and will continue for the next few years. We are constantly rationalizing the use of the resources allocated to us. Part of the military potential will continue to serve the needs of the national economy wherever priorities dictate.

We have made legislative changes that present broader possibilities of alternative military service for those who cannot or will not undergo primary military service for political or religious reasons. We are altering the structure and curriculum of military training. Military studies in civilian colleges will also be subject to major changes.

We will combine a consolidation of moral-political ethics and discipline with the idea of humanizing and democratizing the army. This aim will be expressed in amended regulations.

Our party organizations are an important instrument for measuring the effectiveness of the changes we are making in the army. The fact that we are acquiring valuable young people wanting to take active part in political life and present changes, a trend that has continued for several years, illustrates a rise in confidence in the party and in its prestige among the military community.

In the work of military party organizations, we also perceive problems which weaken the effectiveness of this work. Some party organizations have grown accustomed to the system of orders. As a result, the new style of thinking and work is paving a way for itself not without difficulty.

Ryszard Klika, Central Committee member and fisherman: [passage omitted] Let us select two or three clear goals that stir everyone into action. Let us not write volumes which contain everything and nothing at the same time, because we are never able to "digest" it. Sometimes I get the impression that the same documents are duplicated year after year, and that their contents and coverage remain the same.

Further on Plenum Speeches

AU0501094989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Dec 88 pp 4, 5, 6

[Unattributed roundup of speeches from the floor of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 21 December]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Artur Kwiatkowski, Central Committee member and individual farmer, Cetki in Rypin commune: [passage omitted] In the theses for today's plenum I read that good relations should be maintained with the episcopate and the Roman Catholic Church for the sake of Poles and Poland. However, there is a politicized part of the clergy that sows discord directed against our reality. What sort of soil has this politicized clergy sprung up from? It is surely the might of the Roman Catholic Church, might that possesses a financial character.

I was very surprised that no reply was made to the charge, which was made by the leader of the opposition during the televised debate, that 90 percent of the members of the trade union apparatus are party members. Does this mean that our party should be removed from it? Does it mean that the union has to be apolitical?

I am against creating a situation in which the workers class will be fragmented once again. I am opposed—I and my colleagues—to the existence of yellow [zolty—originally meaning Christian unions sympathetic to the interests of employers] Christian unions in my voivodship. Before the war, they waged a bitter struggle against class-based trade unions in Wlcolawek with the support of the Roman Catholic Church. Activists belonging to class-based trade unions were thrown into jail. That is the truth.

Are we to establish another trade union today? Are we to repeat the nightmare of 1981? We want them to join us. There will be pluralism, they can express their opinions among us, but they should not disrupt unity among Poles.

On the subject of blank spots. People have to be told the whole truth about the criminal acts that were committed, that is—about what we call Stalinism. However, there are also dark stains. I would like historians from the Dobrzyn-Kujawy area to say and tell us at their sessions about what life was like between the wars. I can remember "Young Poland" overturning stalls belonging to members of the Jewish minority, smashing windows in

their homes, and enjoying the support of the Roman Catholic Church at the time. Why in my region in 1947 were 15 young members of the Security Office and the militia murdered in broad daylight, killed in an ambush, just because they were strengthening people's power? All the bandits involved wore likenesses of the Virgin Mary on their chests. Why should we not tell young people about this? We are the only ones who keep on indulging in self-flagellation. [passage omitted]

Czeslaw Borowski, Central Committee member and senior pumping station operator at the "Adamow" Power Station of the "Patnow-Adamow-Konin" power station complex, Konin Voivodship: [passage omitted] At this 10th plenum we must say yes to reform, yes to political change, and yes to socialist democracy based on the principles of socialism and respect for the Constitution, which was adopted on the wishes of the entire people and was passed by the PPR Sejm.

Reorganized, independent, and self-governing trade unions are present and playing a part in the dialogue that is taking place. The question of trade union pluralism is being debated. It is not a question of names, it is a question of there being a trade union that, in the face of difficulties, would be ready to cooperate in order to improve the economic situation and improve conditions of life for working people for the good of Poland.

We in the power industry would not like to produce electricity and repair high tension power lines and substations for a union that saw an opportunity to obtain energy for nothing. A trade union in the municipal services field cannot accept a union that smashes windows, destroys local facilities and amenities, and causes disruptions to municipal transportation. Every time they hold one of their gatherings in the streets, we have to carry out repairs and make up the losses. How can there be pluralism if one union pays hard currency for taking part in a demonstration, and another union has to make up losses and support itself from members' contributions?

That is why we support the idea of one union in one workplace. This idea is something fundamental to every workplace, because under the reform no boss should have to hold negotiations with several partners. We do not want a union that does not work for its country, that seeks to wreck the current order, disrupt law and order, harm the public good, and counts the losses incurred by its fatherland among its successes. [passage omitted]

Marian Wysocki, member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Zamosc: [passage omitted] A further problem is that of the intelligentsia. An issue of key importance is that of attracting larger groups of intelligent, educated people to our party, both as party members and also as sympathizers, or simply as allies in dealing with specific matters.

I think that many of our weaknesses and failures stem from the fact that a significant percentage of the intelligentsia has stood on the sidelines, or even acted against us, that we did not exploit all the opportunities for cooperation that existed, and that we sometimes approached such cooperation in too opportunistic a manner. I think that the raising of this issue in the theses is of extraordinary importance. However, this is only part of the matter. I think that the most important thing will be the consistent implementation of the theses in practice. Discussion might produce good ideas, but implementation means changing reality.

We can expect our overture to the intelligentsia to elicit a positive response on the condition that we invite representatives of various communities and views to take part in discussions and in work and that we will ask questions, limit our demands, and treat the proposals that are formulated seriously, even if we do not always agree with their substance. This is because nothing pleases a creative person more than an opportunity to take part in research and transform reality, but there is nothing that discourages a creative person more than wasted effort, a lack of respect, and difficulty in establishing intellectual rapport. [passage omitted]

Jozef Florek, Central Committee member, miner and cutter-loaderman at the "Piast" coal mine in Tychy, Katowice Voivodship: [passage omitted] The word Stalinism started reappearing at least as far back as August, and it is being used in various ways and in various situations. We are no longer fighting for socialist renewal, but only against Stalinism, or, at any rate, against what remains of it. This is a good thing if what we understand by it is the conscious abandonment of ineffective methods of building socialism. Unfortunately, a great deal of unnecessary confusion has arisen.

I think that our party is now far removed from the things that are associated with the crude nature of Stalinism. This is the very area in which there is no need for us to be penitent. I would like to complain about our party intelligentsia for failing to respond to unjust charges and assessments directed at the party. No one has stripped us of the right to defend our own honor. Above all, we owe it to our rank-and-file party members to defend them. I would also level a similar charge at out party deputies, who, to put it mildly, were lost for words at the September Sejm session and allowed themselves to be subjected to one-sided criticism from their allies.

I am disturbed by the excessive use of capitalist rhetoric in discussions about the future of the Polish economy. Privatization has become synonymous with enterprise and efficiency. What is socialized or state-owned, on the other hand, is considered bad and wasteful. Against this background, promoting the equality of all sectors of the economy as a panacea for economic ills is paradoxical. Equal conditions for involvement in the economy will certainly help to solve many of the annoying problems experienced in everyday life. However, Poland's future

prospects are linked to the condition of its socialized enterprises, and extortion through taxation is something that has hit state enterprises most of all.

It is right that we should be creating conditions that enable people who have money to use that money sensibly, but the basic problem for our party is that of creating prospects for the majority, who do not own any capital. This is an area in which we must have a clearly defined policy that is implemented consistently. We have to demonstrate that our party not only perceives manifestations of social dissatisfaction, but that it manages to stand at the head of it.

The process of introducing pluralism into public, economic, and political life is increasingly becoming a tangible fact. Changes are taking place that even the most hardened opposition members could not have dreamed of a few years ago. So, it is not surprising that questions and fears about the role of the party in this process are beginning to arise. Many questions and fears were expressed during talks with rank-and-file party members and the operational aktiv. This is the case all the more so in view of the fact that we are dealing with a crisis of confidence in the party. It is different from the crisis at the beginning of the 1980's, when we were accused of being arrogant and abusing power. Today, the basic accusation is one of inefficiency and incompetence. What is needed is a clear and qualitative leap forward. [passage omitted]

Wladyslaw Pozoga, vice minister of Internal Affairs: There is a tangible social need for the 10th plenum to see to it that the new thinking about our Polish affairs accelerates the creation of a new climate of socialism in Poland and contributes to the process of restructuring in the socialist system. Questions about the obstacles along this path are also arising.

The party is consistently aiming to implement the "roundtable" initiative. However, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the extreme opposition is acting as a brake on accord and the reforms. This is confirmed by latest events whereby efforts were made to use the December anniversaries in order to create street disturbances. Those behind these efforts treated the anniversaries as an opportunity to transfer the political struggle to the streets, and ultimately, this unrest, just like other provocations of this nature, was meant to disrupt the climate of national accord. Other kinds of activity aimed at creating a new kind of political situation by means of faits accomplis are also disturbing.

There are continued attempts to expand illegal structures in work places, colleges, and rural communities, in order to conduct destructive activity and incite people in these places. Once again there are demands to expel the PZPR from the factories. Those who oppose dialogue are trying to force moderate opposition circles to block the tendency toward compromise and toward the search for platforms of accord with the authorities.

What is the opponent expecting? The extremists are determined to do anything they can to prevent the party and government from succeeding with the socioeconomic reforms. The opponent expects that following the failure of the reforms, it will be possible to stir up social moods and try to create anarchy in Poland. The opponent would like to create divisions inside the party and weaken its cohesion and political force. This is a very similar scenario and way of thinking to the one in 1980 and 1981, but today the purpose is to reinstate "Solidarity," and the strategic goal is to change the system in Poland and thus weaken the entire socialist community, which would also mean weakening Poland's international position and the security of its borders.

The fulfillment of these plans is gaining political and material support from the West, at the price of Poland's increased dependence, of course. The size of this support depends on the degree to which Poland follows the line laid down by subversive centers, especially extremist Western groups who are hostile to Poland and who cannot expect broader social support in Poland. They are trying to win for themselves as much of the subsidies and equipment from the West as possible.

It seems to me that there is still too little mention of these facts, too little mention of the flood of dollars reaching the opposition and of the fact that the extremists are trying hard to encourage the West to maintain the blockades and barriers that hamper a development of the economic and trade relations with Poland. I think the so-called constructive opposition should publicly dissociate itself from this attitude as quickly as possible, for it is difficult to reconcile a declared desire to take part in accord with a material dependence on outsiders. In his anti-Polish game, the foreign adversary is using domestic extremists and moderate opposition elements as tools. The ultimate goal is to create a united front of antistate activity in which, for example, illegal youth groups have been assigned a major role.

The decisions we make must forestall the political opponent, force the opposition to abandon the policy of pressure according to the philosophy of all or nothing, and isolate the extremists. This calls for maintaining a high rate of energy in the processes of change, and encouraging social activity around the party program. In this regard, the present plenum could even achieve a breakthrough. Under the present conditions, unity in implementing the jointly adopted political line is increasingly important. Must we as a party keep on flagellating ourselves? Is it not time to present our real achievements and the possibilities and prospects of socialist development more broadly? In this context, a full consolidation of our ranks around the party leadership assumes a new dimension. The situation calls for decisive action. The party leadership must consist of people who promote and organize a bolder, unconventional strategy of action, in accordance with the current conditions of the political struggle.

Marek Karabin, Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the PZPR committee in the M. Nowotko Steelworks: [passage omitted] Confidence in the party as a central controller of the sociopolitical processes occurring in Poland has fallen considerably, and the number of party supporters has fallen. The 10th plenum is meeting this phenomenon halfway. We must thoroughly revalue ideology, and really become a workers mass party that acts according to political methods, in accordance with Lenin's principle whereby socialism is a system that belongs to the working people. [passage omitted]

Malinowski Addresses 1989 Sejm Tasks

AU0301110189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Dec 88 p 6

[Report on speech by Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski at the 22 December Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] The last Sejm session of 1988 is drawing to a close, said Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski. Tomorrow, Polish families will sit down at their Christmas Eve tables. In 1 week's time we will see in the new year. This will be a time of reflection, a time of summing up the entire year's work, always in the hope that the new year will be better, and that there will be fewer woes and troubles, and more joy and satisfaction in our families and in the joint national family—Poland. [passage omitted]

Responsible tasks await us in 1989. Among the problems that the Sejm will have to examine, one must mention the variants of the 1991-5 National Socioeconomic Plan and the draft of a subsequent economic plan. The government announces a series of bills connected with further reforms to the economy and sociopolitical life. The first of these bills are: A bill on the system of financing state units, a tax bill, the economic consolidation program, a package of laws on associations, and a bill on communal property. A reform to the election system has also been announced.

We are convinced that next year will be a year of broad and permanent national accord. This is bound to open up new prospects in the work of the Polish parliament and consolidate the processes of parliamentary democracy.

The coming year will be the last year of the Ninth Sejm. Our ability to face our voters with a feeling of well-performed duty depends on our initiative, responsibility, and commitment.

The marshal expressed holiday and new year greetings to countrymen at home and abroad. We have embarked upon a road of major qualitative changes that take our national traditions, experiences, and aspirations into account, he said. Let us do everything we can so that our attitude, work, and commitment may encourage our Polish transformations for the sake of our individual and national welfare.

Roman Malinowski conveyed best wishes to Wojciech Jaruzelski and the members of the State Council; Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and his cabinet; the political leaderships of the PZPR and allied parties; Jan Dobraczynski and PRON activists; and Sejm deputies.

Council of Ministers Approves Economic Measures

AU0301133789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Dec 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Council of Ministers Meets"]

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that a meeting of the Council of Ministers chaired by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski was held on 23 December. The government made the following decisions:

1. The government approved a draft foreign currency law. The law introduces the general principle of freedom to trade in foreign currency, and guarantees ownership of foreign currency. It makes it possible to create a foreign currency market. The law will assist the gradual elimination of instances of the use of two currencies in the Polish economy and introduce the domestic convertibility of the zloty. It is envisaged that:
—Unlimited trade in foreign currency between physical persons will be possible when such trade is conducted on a nonprofit basis;
—Enterprises will be able to buy foreign currency on a competitive tender basis at prices determined by supply and demand;
—Enterprises that earn foreign currency will be obliged to sell part of such revenue to the banks. These resources will be used for sales by means of competitive tender; financing central imports of commodities of strategic importance for the economy such as grain and crude oil; and for the servicing of the state's foreign obligations.

2. The government approved a draft law on the financial management of state enterprises. The proposals include:
—the introduction of a dual asset structure for state enterprises and the separation of state budget contributions from a self-financing enterprise's own earnings;
—state budget contributions will form a parent body fund, and an enterprise's earnings will form an enterprise fund;
—a dividend will be drawn from the parent body fund corresponding to the basic rate of interest on loans provided by the Polish National Bank. Thus, if an enterprise invests more in its expansion, the dividend burden will be lower and vice and versa.

3. The government approved a draft law on the income tax paid by legal persons. The new taxation principles are the same for state enterprises, cooperatives, social organizations, stock corporations, and limited liability companies, as well for state economic units that conduct economic activity but do not have the status of a legal person.

Combined with the bills passed by the Sejm on undertaking economic activity and economic activity with the participation of foreign subjects, the package of documents that was approved at the session, as well as other draft laws that have already been submitted to the Sejm, will be of fundamental importance for the restructuring of the Polish economy. Further government projects are designed to guarantee economic freedom and the equality of the various sectors of the economy, as well as provide a legal framework for market mechanisms. The proposals that have been made to simplify, standardize, and rationalize the numerous regulations that exist, and to eliminate further legal restrictions and obstacles, should make it possible to develop initiative and create opportunities for active and innovative participants in economic life.

4. In response to calls from the social-occupational groups concerned, the government approved a draft law on the acquisition of funds for wages in the budgetary sphere. The wage system will be gradually reorganized, beginning in 1989. The principle that will be introduced will be one of reviewing and adjusting wages in line with wages in the material production sphere. The principles that have been outlined are designed to improve the wage situation of the intelligentsia—particularly that of employees in education, science, health care, and the justice system—so that it corresponds to the role that they play in the life of the country.

5. The government approved a draft law on making 11 November national independence day. However, like 9 May—celebrated as a national day of victory and freedom—it will be a normal working day.

6. The government approved a decree on the revaluation of stocks by socialized economic units, as well as the principles to be employed in settlement procedures arising from such revaluations. The duty to conduct revaluations will be limited to goods for which there are official prices if such prices are altered. The results of a revaluation will not be subject to separate settlement procedures with respect to the budget, but will be added to the funds that an economic unit allocates as working capital.

Walesa Queried on Legalization of Solidarity

LD0401175789 Warsaw PAP in English
1515 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 4—Agreement is necessary in this country. The key issue is legalisation of "Solidarnosc." Compromise lies in our common interest. There is something we can do for Poland together. The interest of Poland is the supreme cause—these are the key statements made by Lech Walesa in an interview for journalists of the "POLITYKA" weekly Jerzy Baczynski and Marian Turski. Excerpts:

On Minister Urban's Praises

He praises me, and I just have big grounds for complaining. If someone thinks I can be disconnected or separated from the independent self-governing trade union "solidarnosc," he makes a terrible mistake. This results only in a loss of time and also in irritation on our side. Such splitting may bring about greater anarchy and the loss of control over the situation. He who would maliciously praise me acts against us all but if it there is no trick in it, that would be O.K., why not.

On TV Debate With Miodowicz

I evaluate this meeting very well but not from the point of view of fight or victory. It must result in something, the stagnation which has existed in Poland must end since we all are losing because of it. And that is why, beginning with this meeting, action should start, I believe in this. This debate was like a breeze in our inertia, we have caught some wind in our sails.

I am convinced that some new stage opens, though there are no practical effects of this yet, chances do exist at the moment.

Movement for Reform

Today "Solidarnosc" still means reform which has various aspects...

(A reform-oriented movement) wide enough to offer some place even for the authorities. The main current remains unionist and it will be unionist.

The government can say that "solidarnosc" means the struggle against the authorities or the threat of anarchy. And it is right. Somebody else will say that it is the struggle for reform. And he is also right. For me it is the struggle for making the authorities undertake reforms, carried on at various places, not en masse as it once used to be put through some associations, clubs, economic movements and the main stream—the unionist one.

On legalisation of Solidarnosc

The authorities will give this union, whether they want it or not. For me the question is whether this will happen by force or without it and what will be the costs.

The OPZZ (all-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) deals with politics, and we will also do this.

Anti-Crisis Pact

I understand both sides' fears. How can one prevent this. We are all wiser after these seven years. The international situation is much better now. Important transformations are taking place in other countries, especially in the Soviet Union. I talked about this with Prof Andrei

Sakharov in Paris-they also understand in Moscow that it is necessary to depart from the Stalinist system, to break with it. Totalitarian structure must be replaced by pluralism.

We could hear a similar opinion voiced from the highest rostrum also in Poland recently. This raises our hopes that reformatory forces will prevail in the governing camp.

"Solidarnosc" keeps repeating that it is ready to sign an anti-crisis pact in favour of reform.

The authorities have seen that without agreement nothing can be done in the country. And the social side has also learned that without the authorities one cannot go far.

Poles are seeking possible things. That which the authorities allow for and which society allows for. On some matters we agree already jointly.

Do we live better today? One could of course find other examples that things have improved after all because there is more democracy, freedom of speech. But then again is this a gift from the authorities or has it been coerced by society?

In the beginning there must be one force which will control the authorities, which will safeguard the independence of these smaller organizations and make it easier for them to exist. But one "Solidarnosc" must be a guarantee of reform, a guarantee that we will not be cheated. And the authorities reason: No, let us give them some seats in the Sejm, a vice premier, several ministers—then we will divide, weaken them.

On strikes

We agree that there cannot be continuous strikes, fights, any attempts at taking over power—we can secure ourselves against this. Nonetheless, we will not allow ourselves to be divided, to be left without guarantees that we will maintain independence.

On Bad Reception by Youth in Jastrzebie

In Jastrzebie there was a militant group but the most dangerous is the silent majority which will lean towards struggle because its situation cannot be improved soon. People at some stage cease to feel pain or fear.

And Jastrzebie? If I had known whom I was to meet and why, I would have arranged things differently. There was a misunderstanding, I had been told that I was going only for a mass, that the strike was over, that all that remained was to sign, that this was Silesia and I should go. And I stepped on a mine unawares.

On Shutting Down of Plants

We do not have a yardstick which would tell us which plant is profitable and which is not. When the economic conditions will be clear and comprehensible then we will know how the trade union should react in respective conflicts.

Walesa's Fraction

All socialist countries have a common denominator. This systemic denominator must be changed. But aside from this, every country in this fraction has a different numerator. The Soviet Union, for instance, has many republics in the numerator, in Poland there is an independent church, "Solidarnosc", private farms, in the numerator of the GDR there is assistance from the FRG and so on. And now my thesis: This denominator must be changed by the numerator. Whose numerator is the best? If we leave aside the GDR, because the situation there is specific, then what remains is Poland. If we, having the best conditions, botch up the reform, then others have minimal chances.

Method of Verification

Now we strive at a system which cannot be enforced overnight. It is to draw what is good in capitalism and those several good things which are in socialism. How does one do this? Only through the method of verification. We struggle to enable various programs to be formulated—in the political, social and economic field. And then one has things to choose from.

If everyone on his own—the pope, the primate, Walesa or the government will call: Dear ones, let us get down to work and put the country in order, then the result will be significantly smaller than had we said this together.

Conclusion

I state once again: In this country agreement is necessary. The legalization of "Solidarnosc" is the key matter. There is nothing to be afraid of. I repeat—we do not want to overthrow the authorities. Compromise lies in our common interest. Together we have something to do for Poland. The interest of Poland is on the agenda. This is the supreme matter. And this is why we must reach agreement.

1989 Trade Protocol Signed With Soviet Union

AU0301110089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Polish-USSR Trade Agreement"]

[Text] A protocol on 1989 Polish-Soviet trade was concluded in Warsaw on 20 January. On the Polish side, it was signed by Dominik Jastrzebski, minister of foreign economic cooperation, and on the Soviet side by Aleksandr Ivanovich Kachanov, first deputy minister of foreign trade. Deputy Premier Ireneusz Sekula was present.

Polish-Soviet trade in 1989 will be higher than in 1988. Poland will import fuels and materials for production purposes. These are traditional items on the trade list. They include crude oil and its derivatives, coking coal, iron ore, rolled-metal products, electricity, cotton, and chemical products. It should be noted that next year will see greater supplies of Soviet natural gas to Poland, because of our involvement in expanding the raw materials base in the Soviet Union. Apart from the above commodities, Poland will import machines and equipment, general-purpose industrial goods, and food commodities such as refrigerators, washing machines, television sets, fish preserves, cheese, wine, champagne—and all this in greater quantities.

Poland will export to the Soviet Union machines and equipment, especially computer and data processing hardware and control and measuring apparatus; general purpose industrial goods, including gas cookers, camping equipment, cosmetics, ladies clothes, shoes, fruit, and vegetables; and materials such as sulfur, sulfuric acid, paints, dyes, and rolled-metal goods.

There will be increased trade between border areas and between domestic trade units, which will help enrich market supplies in both countries.

The protocol also permits new forms of foreign trade, such as direct trade between production enterprises, domestic trade enterprises, and joint enterprises. In accordance with the economic reforms in both countries, this trade, established on the basis of independent decisions by the enterprises involved, should permit a further dynamic growth in mutual trade.

The protocol expresses the desire of both countries to develop mutually advantageous and comprehensive economic links and animate new spheres of mutual activity.

Jaruzelski, Rakowski Send Greetings to Castro

AU0301133589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 88-1 Jan 89 p 2

[Greetings telegram from PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, on Cuban National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of Cuba, Havana.

On the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution, we send you, Comrade Fidel Castro, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, State Council, Council of Ministers, and the entire Cuban people sincere greetings and best wishes for the further successful development of your fatherland on behalf of the highest authorities of the PPR and Polish society.

The great historic achievements of fraternal Cuba over the past 30 years and the great efforts by the party and government leadership and the entire society in perpetuating the fruits of the revolution and perfecting socialist construction enjoy our honest appreciation. We observe with positive sentiment your contribution to defending peace, the independence of nations, and social justice, as well as your contribution in the struggle for a new world economic order. We are aware of and highly appreciate Cuba's valued role in consolidating and perpetuating the significance of the movement of nonaligned countries.

We wish to use this opportunity in order to express our satisfaction with the comprehensively developing fraternal friendship and cooperation between our peoples, states, and parties. We are convinced that they will continue to consolidate for the common good.

We wish you, dear Comrade Fidel, and fraternal Cuba success in the development of your fatherland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman; Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

Comparison of Jaruzelski New Year's Speech

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 2 January on page 1 carries the 2,000-word New Year's Day message from State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Polish people. The TRYBUNA LUDU report has been compared with the Warsaw Television Service version published in the 3 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, revealing the following variations:

Page 50, column two, first paragraph, last sentence to second paragraph, first sentence reads: ...poverty and loss. Such burdens are always borne by succeeding generations. [new paragraph] A few weeks... (supplying indistinct words)

Comparison of Rakowski TV Interview

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 29 December on pages 1 and 2 carries the 1,800-word speech by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski given on Polish TV on 28 December. The TRYBUNA LUDU report has been compared with the Warsaw Television Service version, entitled "Rakowski on Economic Reform, Investments," published in the 29 December East Europe DAILY REPORT, revealing the following variations:

Page 42, column one, second full paragraph of item, last sentence to page 43, column one, first paragraph, first sentence reads: ...entered into people, as one citizen has written, and now the point is simply for a new category, in other words certainty, to arise. [new paragraph] This would be a certainty that the... (rephrasing, repunctuating, supplying indistinct words)

Page 43, column one, third paragraph, last sentence to fourth paragraph, first sentence reads: to say that there is still insufficient concern for economizing on energy in our industry. [new paragraph] Another source of inflation... (rephrasing, supplying indistinct words)

USSR Envoy Gives Speech at State Council

AU0401182089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Dec 88 p 5

[Address by the dean of the diplomatic corps, USSR Ambassador Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, at a meeting between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the heads of diplomatic corps in Bucharest, on the 41st anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic and New Year's Eve, at the Bucharest Palace of the State Council, on 30 December]

[Text] Much esteemed Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu: On the eve of the new year, 1989, I take pleasure in addressing you on behalf of the heads of diplomatic corps accredited to the SR of Romania.

Each of us feels a particular satisfaction with representing his country in Bucharest and making a contribution—in accordance with his possibilities—to the expansion and the strengthening of cooperation with Romania on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

It is enough to take a look at the ambassadors who are greeting you in this festive hall to understand the great importance that the Romanian state and you personally attach to the development of relations with all the countries of the world, with small and big countries, regardless of their social system. Likewise, this is a telling recognition of the active role that Romania plays in international life and of the consistent efforts made by its president toward finding solutions to the ardent problems of our times: Consolidating the stability of peace, achieving disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, eliminating underdevelopment, establishing a new international economic order, and finding peaceful solutions to regional conflicts.

In your country, we have acquainted ourselves with its rich history and culture, its wonderful landscape, and, at the same time, we felt the soul and hospitality of the peaceful Romanian people, acknowledged their achievements, and understood their concerns.

We can see how Romania has changed after 1944. Through the wisdom, work, and skill of the people and the concerns of the state leadership, Romania has changed from an agrarian country into a country with an important and modern industry, an advanced agriculture, and a strong scientific and technical potential. We extend sincere wishes to the Romanian people for new successes in their constructive activity and in continuously developing their economy, science, culture, and the welfare of the people.

On behalf of the diplomatic corps, please allow me to thank you, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Government of the SR of Romania, the state bodies, and civic organizations for the support and cooperation we enjoyed throughout this year that we are concluding. We are convinced that this will continue in the future, too. We highly appreciate the efforts of the Romanian leadership and your personal efforts to develop political and economic relations and scientific and cultural relations between our countries. We are prepared to make an increased contribution to this noble cause.

Today, we live in a new world. Solving the most complex global problems of our times—political, economic, scientific-technical, regional, ecological, and humanitarian issues—lies only in the power of the people. The new political thinking opens up huge prospects for peaceful development of all countries and peoples. The whole world, united through its relations and in interdependence, can survive and develop only on the basis of the consensus of all of mankind.

The tragic earthquake in Armenia, with its catastrophic effects, produced feelings of deep sorrow in all our world's people, something that confirmed once again that sorrow is the same. Human solidarity and compassion were forcefully shown in those greatly trying moments and the world looked indeed like our common home. On behalf of the Armenian people and of the entire Soviet Union, I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to you Comrade President, and to the governments and public opinion in all the countries represented here, for the condolences conveyed and for the general aid granted to all those who suffered in Armenia.

Comrade President, no doubt 1988 leaves a distinctive mark in the history of mankind. Even as a first step, a very important practical step has been taken toward a world free of nuclear weapons and of violence, and the first scores of Soviet and American nuclear missiles have been destroyed. The 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons is topical. We are also approaching the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting, which will open up the path toward the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces. The hope has emerged that regional problems will be solved. The world has received with satisfaction the new important proposals and initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union. All these strengthen the confidence for the establishment of a better world—a world of construction and progress, of well-being and creation, and of security and cooperation.

On the 41st anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic and on New Year's Eve, on behalf of the diplomatic corps, allow me, Comrade President, to extend to you and to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, to the State Council, the government, and the Romanian people congratulations, expressions of respect and friendship, and cordial wishes for good health, happiness, and prosperity and for the successful fulfillment of your socioeconomic development plans in this remarkable year for Romania. We wish you great successes in your many-sided, creative activity directed toward the well-being of the Socialist Romania and its people, in the name of peace and progress on earth.

Happy New Year!

Ceausescu Cables Honecker on Party Anniversary
AU2912184888 Bucahrest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/12/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, has sent Erich Honecker, secretary-general of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the following telegram:

Dear Comrade Honecker,

In behalf of the RCP, of its Central Committee as well as in my own behalf, I address you, the CC of the SUPG, the Communists, all working people in the German Democratic Republic, warmest congratulations on the 70th foundation anniversary of the CP of Germany.

The Communist Party of Germany asserted itself from its very foundation, seven decades ago, as representative of the whole German people's aspirations after progress and social justice, leading the struggle for the defence of the fundamental interests of the working class, of all democratic forces, against fascism, for the triumph of the noble ideas of freedom and social progress.

After the foundation of the GDR, the first German state of workers and peasants, your diligent and gifted people has scored under the leadership of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]—the furthering of the glorious traditions of the CP of Germany—remarkable successes in the country's economic and social development, in building the socialist society.

We take this opportunity to evoke with satisfaction the traditional relations of friendship and solidarity established between our parties, in the joint struggle for the defence of the working people's vital interests, for socialism and peace.

We reiterate the determination to steadily work, in the spirit of the summit understandings, for the amplification of the relations of close friendship and collaboration on multiple planes between the RCP and SUPG, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic, to the benefit and in the interests of our peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace.

We wish you, dear comrades, full success in the implementation of the resolutions of the party's 11th congress, in building the developed socialist society in your homeland, in the struggle for peace and international collaboration.

Economic Investment Programs Reviewed
AU0501100589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0923 GMT 5 Jan 89

["Investment Programmes in Romania's Intensive Growth"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 5/1/1989—Romania, that decided to build its own modern and efficient economic complex, has been tenaciously promoting a policy of equipping and reequipping the national economy with modern enterprises and outfit, all while strengthening the material base of agriculture. Furthermore, it builds a strong network of scientific and cultural institutions and a solid infrastructure and it systematically expands social construction.

Over 1945-1988 a total 4,100 billion lei were invested, which resulted in a marked growth of the volume and quality of fixed assets, in essential changes in the production apparatus. So, for instance, whereas over 1966-1975 fixed assets worth 797.6 billion lei were commissioned, in the 1976-1985 interval, their value stood at 1,830.1 billion lei and in the early years of the Five-Year Plan period spanning 1986-1990 the worth of the technical equipment of the national economy increased by roughly 444 billion lei. Fixed assets in the national economy increased some 19 times in 1987 over 1945 and 14fold or so over 1965. At present, they account for about 3,300 billion lei. Some 2,500 billion lei of the national wealth, that amounts to 5,100 billion lei, are concentrated in the productive area in the form of machines, equipment, installations, automatic data processing devices, transport means, and others. Significant for the modern structure of the technical base of the national economy is the level of fixed-asset renewal which, for quite a number of years now, remains high: Roughly 14 per cent of the fixed assets in the national economy at the end of 1987 were up to two years old, 47 per cent up to 7 years old and 71 per cent up to 12 years old. The same holds true for the fixed assets equipping labour. Fixed assets per employed person in terms of value increased in 1986 over 1950 8.5 times in industry, 19.8 fold times in construction and 16.7 times in agriculture.

As the necessary infrastructure elements were accumulated and a passage was achieved to a preponderantly intensive economic growth, the technological structure of investment improved sensibly. The weight of investment by five-year periods ranged from 32.0 per cent to 38.8 per cent in the period spanning 1951-1965 and from 43.9 to 49.1 per cent in the 1971-1985 interval.

In the period after 1965, industry took in roughly one half of the total volume of investment, which was chiefly channelled to the manufacture of production means (83-90 per cent of industrial investment). Consequently, the production of this group of capital importance for the economy increased substantially: At the end of the aforesaid interval, some three fourths of the industrial

production were accounted for by production means. A similar evolution was registered by the production of the manufacturing industry, which increased from 89.9 per cent to 95.4 per cent. The major investment efforts were focused on the branches that promote technical progress, more particularly, on machine building and chemistry, where the dynamics of investment—of roughly 15 per cent—substantially topped the average annual growth rate of investment in industry as a whole (eleven per cent or so). An average 84 per cent of total investment in the national economy in the years of socialist construction went to productive branches.

Substantial investment funds were channelled towards agriculture. With a view to boosting the productive strength of that sector, more than 500 billion lei were invested in the years of socialist construction. A significant result of that policy is the fact that the total area laid out for irrigations extends at present on almost four million hectares. Furthermore, the problems related to the mechanization of agriculture were solved. Today, that branch boasts about 180,000 tractors, more than 60,000 self-propelled harvesters and hundreds upon thousands of other modern equipment.

Investment in agriculture grew from 6.4 billion lei over 1951-1955 to more than 37.5 billion lei over 1961-1965 and to 185.2 billion lei in the 1981-1985 five-year period. The attainment of the target set for the current quinquennium—a stepped-up growth of farm production—relies on substantial investment—190 billion lei—an amount that tops the investment made in all the branches of the economy in the decade spanning 1951-1960.

The development of the forces of production on the basis of the implementation of investment programmes led—more particularly in the past 23 years—to the creation of numerous new workplaces, whose number increased by over 3.5 million lei in 1988 over 1965. Their structure by branches and subbranches also changed sensibly. Whereas in 1945 roughly 80 per cent of the country's population worked in agriculture and in 1965 of the total work force, that stood at 9,680,000 people, as many as 5,480,000 worked in agriculture and 1,860,000 in industry,at present, of the total active population, which amounts to over 11,000,000 roughly 8,000,000 work in industry and in other areas of activity and 3,000,000 in agriculture. The level of population employment in the national economy as a whole stood at 489 in 1,000 inhabitants at the end of 1987.

Permanent concern has been shown to social investment. The funds allotted to housing construction increased 16fold in 1986 over 1950. In the past 23 years alone, 2.6 million flats were built from the state's funds and 51 hundred thousands flats from the population's funds. At present, there are towns and cities that no longer have a housing problem. By the end of the next quinquennium, this problem will have been solved in broad lines on a national scale and until the year 2000 every resident will be ensured a flat of at least 14sq.m (of 18-20 sq.m together with the annexes). The material base of health care developed remarkably.

As compared with 1965 hospital capacity doubled to stand at more than 200,000 beds at present. Furthermore, there are 1,527 territorial dispensaries in the country's towns and villages. Relevant for the course of investment in this area is the fact that the funds allotted from the state budget for health-care activities were 30 times or so larger in 1986 than back in 1950. Moreover, the fact is noteworthy that three quarters of the material base of the Romanian schools were achieved in the years of socialist construction, and that more than 70 per cent of that base are a result of activities performed in the past two decades.

In the current five-year plan period spanning 1986-1990, a capital construction programme worth 1,200 billion lei will be implemented. More than 840 billion lei of the total go to industry and are intended for power engineering and the extractive industry in particular. Investment in the manufacturing industry is channelled towards the completion of the projects started last five-year period and the updating of existing units. Throughout the five-year period some 900 important production units will be put on line. The structure of the capital construction programme bespeaks priorities that are characteristic of an intensive-type development: The expansion of energy and raw materials resources, the betterment of the organization and the updating of production processes, land improvement and the mechanization of agriculture, the rise in the technical standard and the quality of production, lower raw materials, energy and fuel consumption and higher competitivity of Romanian products in the foreign market.

Loncar, PRC's Qian Discuss Bilateral Ties

LD0401221689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—This evening's meeting between Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and his Chinese colleage, Qian Qichen, in Belgrade confirmed that relations between the SFRY and PRC are stable and have good prospects.

In the 2 and ½ hours of talks, which were described by Yugoslav collocutors as expressly constructive and cordial, there was confirmation that the two sides attach a great deal of importance to the development of mutual relations and that on virtually all the most important international questions they have the same or similar views.

In this (the sixth consecutive) dialogue between the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs and the Chinese minister of foreign affairs, Loncar and Qian saw a continuation of the fruitful politial dialogue traditionally cherished by Belgrade and Beijing. However, regarding bilateral economic relations, it was said that there had to be a certain slowdown in trade ($170 million last year as against $270 million in 1987) because of the problems which cropped up on both sides. However, these difficulties are not permanent, which indicates the conviction that the two economies can, and have the need to, cooperate more closely in the future. Yugoslavia and China point out here that they view with emphasized interest and greater expectations the development of modern long-term (primarily industrial) economic cooperation.

Apart from "purely" political and economic relations, there was a positive assessment of the efforts to enrich scientific-technical and cultural cooperation and cooperation in the field of security, as well as various forms of linking towns in the two countries, in other words the Yugoslav republics and provinces with provinces in the PRC.

In the context of the exchange of information on current socioeconomic and political events in Yugoslavia and China, Budimir Loncar spoke about the FEC resignation and the reasons which motivated the cabinet of Branko Mikulic to make this move—one unprecedented in the political history of Yugoslavia. The federal secretary for foreign affairs also outlined the essence of the Yugoslav constitutional and economic reforms and the LCY reform, and this met with great interest on the Chinese side. Qian Qichen spoke about the Chinese reforms, about development, but also about the problems facing Chinese society. He added that in China they consider the SFRY as "a pioneer of economic and political reforms," and he expressed his conviction that Yugoslavia, whose changes China very much supports, will persist in the implementation of the reforms and overcome the existing problems. On this occasion the Chinese minister of foreign affairs repeated his invitation to the FEC president to visit the PRC during 1989.

The analysis of current international developments confirmed that the two sides are supporting the creation and construction of a climate of trust and dialogue, and the efforts to resolve the crisis flashpoints and promote detente and the strengthening of peace in the world. Note was made of the important contribution to this end by East-West relations, though note was also made of the concern over the deepening of the gulf in relations between North and South. The observation by Minister Qian Qichen that Beijing attaches great attention to Yugoslav views (on world affairs), "because, among other things, they reflect the thinking of a large number of nonaligned countries," was also striking.

Budimir Loncar pointed out the importance and the role of the Nonaligned Movement in the current international conditions and in this connection the need to modernize its mechanisms of operation. He stressed that the orientation of the movement is, in the period ahead, to strengthen more and more relations with China, the USSR, the United States, the EC, and Western and other important factors in international relations.

The two ministers will continue their talks tomorrow. Colleagues of Budimir Loncar said that this exchange of views will be devoted to international topics.

Ivica Racan Travels to Cuba for Celebration

Arrives in Havana

LD0201115189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0015 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] Havana, 2 Jan (TANJUG)—Ivica Racan, a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, arrived in Havana last night where he will attend the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. During his 3- day stay in Cuba, Racan will also have talks with that country's party and state leaders.

Talks With Castro

AU0501092589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Cuban party and state leader Fidel Castro has received Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in Havana. The two sides assessed relations between Havana and Belgrade as developing successfully. Fidel Castro and Ivica Racan also discussed the situation in the Nonaligned Movement.

Foreign Secretariat Views Angola Agreement

AU0101151089 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 88 p 2

[Unattributed report on statement by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs issued on the signing of an agreement between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA: "Process Leading Toward Abolishing Apartheid"]

[Text] The conclusion of the agreement on finding a political solution to the crisis in southwestern Africa and beginning the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia, in New York on 22 December 1988, is a very significant event not only for the participating countries but also in general. It has proved that broad awareness of the objective need for changes in international relations exists, and it has shown that such a way of thinking and behaving applies to a broadening circle of questions in international relations, says the statement issued by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Relations.

We consider it particularly important to point out at this moment that a comprehensive and permanent peace in this region can be realized only on the basis of such relations as would be acceptable to and in the interest of all the Frontline States, particularly Angola, as well as the South-West African People's Organization, and the liberation movements in southern Africa. We expect the peace process with this concept and beginning to continue, and to contribute to the abolition of racial discrimination and apartheid in the RSA, which would realize the centuries-old intentions of the majority population of that country.

We stress in particular that it is our expectation that the signatory countries and other influential factors will justify the confidence of the international community at large by strictly complying with the obligations undertaken and by further peace-loving and constructive activity, and thereby contribute to ensuring conditions for a lasting peace, security, good-neighborly relations, and unhindered economic development of all countries in the region.

Stojanovic Receives New Soviet Ambassador

LD3012174988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Dec (TANJUG)—Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Vadim Loginov, newly appointed USSR ambassador to the SFRY.

Presidency Views Foreign Policy Principles

AU3112193588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Dec 88 p 7

[TANJUG report: "Constitutional Principles Are Being Implemented"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec—The SFRY Presidency has assessed the basic constitutional principles in the sphere of international relations and the foreign policy of the SFRY as having been consistently realized in practice. The Presidency also says that processes in this practice so far, particularly the most recent ones, point to an undoubtedly positive development in this sphere.

This is stressed in the SFRY Presidency stances on how the constitutional provisions regarding the powers of the SFRY Presidency and the SFRY Assembly in the sphere of setting and controlling foreign policy are being implemented. The SFRY Presidency has prepared these stances at the request of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber.

It is further said in the stances that the SFRY Presidency believes that the provisions of the SFRY Constitution currently in force are not an obstacle to the further advancement of relations in foreign policy, and particularly that the SFRY Assembly performs in full its functions in establishing and controlling the implementation of foreign policy.

If relations between certain federal bodies in this sphere are to be made more precise, this can be done by amending corresponding legal and other regulations, which would above all draw clearer demarcation lines between powers held by federal bodies.

The SFRY Presidency thinks in particular that the consistent implementation of valid constitutional provisions necessitates even greater mutual cooperation between the SFRY Presidency and the SFRY Assembly in determining foreign policy. Among other things, this implies that the SFRY Presidency should more frequently report to the SFRY Assembly on the situation, problems, and its views on the implementation of foreign policy.

The increasing openness of our country and the democratization of our political life, it is said in the stances, justify the need for perceiving these problems more completely. It is stressed particularly here that there is a need to realize mutual cooperation and coordination among basic protagonists in international cooperation, which is implied in Amendment 36 to the SFRY Constitution. The SFRY Presidency believes it would be appropriate to comprehensively examine the questions of establishing and controlling the implementation of foreign policy on the basis of the SFRY Assembly initiative with a view to improving the situation in this sphere.

The SFRY Presidency is of the opinion that the complexity and significance of these problems demand that the initiated legal issues in this sphere be comprehensively examined and realized at the next stage of constitutional changes. The orientation toward such a view has resulted from the general assessment of the priorities among necessary and indispensable changes, as well as the fact that some results have doubtless been achieved in SFRY foreign policy and international relations.

At the same time, this obliges one to continue working to improve our constitutional system in this sphere, particularly to build the mechanism meant to ensure a more coordinated and unified Yugoslav approach to the international sphere.

When discussing these questions and taking stands, the SFRY Presidency has taken into account the assessments, opinions, proposals, and recommendations of the Federal Social Council for International Relations dated 3 March 1988 on establishing and implementing a unified foreign policy on the basis of an analysis of former experiences and directions of activities in the process of the further democratization, socialization, and coordination in foreign policy, the assessment that the SFRY Presidency has sent to the SFRY Assembly says in conclusion.

Group of Iranians Caught Crossing to Austria
AU0201122589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 88 p 11

[S.P. report: "Attempt To Cross State Borders Illegally"]

[Text] Maribor, 21 Dec— Last night, shortly after midnight, a group of unidentified people tried to cross the state border between Yugoslavia and Austria illegally. A border patrol that came by asked them several times to stop, and when they failed to do so, in conformity with valid regulations, the patrol used firearms. One person was wounded and the others stopped and surrendered.

After they were brought to the border watchtower, it turned out that the wounded man was the leader of the illegal group; he is a Yugoslav citizen and a permanent resident of Maribor. The remaining members of the group were Iranian citizens.

They were all detained and will be brought before the Maribor Basic Public Prosecutor's Office.

Heroin Uncovered on Border With Bulgaria
AU0201121289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 88 p 10

[S.S. report: "Customs Officers Find 7 Kilograms of Heroin in the Secret Compartment of a Car"]

[Text] Pirot, 27 December—Customs officers at the Gradina border crossing on the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border, have discovered 7 kilograms of heroin in a secret compartment in the trunk of an automobile. The vehicle was being driven by Mustafa Kotkas, a Turkish citizen who is working temporarily in the Netherlands.

The drugs and the automobile were taken away and the Pirot District public prosecutor has submitted a request for a criminal investigation. More than 150 kilograms of heroin, whose price on the West European market would be $1 million per kilogram, have been confiscated at Gradina this year .

Press Roundup on Mikulic Resignation
LD0401194789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 4 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav press continues to give extensive coverage to last week's resignation of Prime Minister Branko Mikulic's cabinet, focusing on the position of the government under the country's political system and on forecasts about the person of mandatory [as received] to form a new government.

A bitter impression remains that the existing balance of forces at home was of decisive importance for the departure of Mikulic's cabinet, writes POLITIKA EKSPRES of Belgrade. Under the present circumstances, it says, even a cabinet of Nobel Prize winners headed by Milton Friedman, the architect of Reaganomics, would be unable to do much. For instance, if it wanted to cut taxes and contributions, it would be inevitably confronted with the fact that such a move is subject to decision-making at about 8,000 different points in the country.

Yugoslavia, committing itself to a market-oriented economy with modern instruments of macroeconomic regulation, must have a government and not just an executive organ of the Federal Assembly, says the paper.

Recalling that Mikulic has mentioned pressures on his government to give up its policy of real interest rates, Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST underlines that it would have been a service to the Federal Assembly deputies and his successor had he said more about who had exerted such pressures.

On who will be the mandatory to form a new government, Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes that three options are possible—a government of experts, a strong government, or an executive organs. According to the paper, the possible candidates to form a government of experts are the economists Zoran Pjanic and Ljubomir Madzar of Belgrade, Branko Horvat and Marijan Korosic of Zagreb, Aleksandar Bajt and Aleksandar Ribnikar of Ljubljana. The candidates for the premiership of a strong government with the greatest political authority are President of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidency Slobodan Milosevic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Ante Mahrkovic, and secretary of the LCY CC Presidency Stefan Korosec. VJESNIK's list of possible candidates for the prime minister of a government half-way between a purely professional and a purely political includes President of the Assembly of Serbia Borisav Jovic, former member of Mikulic's cabinet and doctor of economy Oskar Kovac, and member of the LCY Central Committee Borislav Srebric.

Writing on whether the Yugoslav state Presidency would decide in favour of a professional politician or an expert, POLITIKA of Belgrade says that if it sticks to the tradition, the collective head of state will choose a politician.

Either option has both advantages and disadvantages, remarks POLITIKA. If the Presidency nominates a politician who has enough authority, he would find it easier to handle powerful political centres at the federal, republican and provincial levels, but he would probably also be more inclined to compromises. On the other hand, the position of an exert vis-a-vis the political power centres would be much more unfavourable. But if he cares about his professional integrity and dignity, it would be much easier for him to sense the line beyond which compromises become counterproductive.

Zagreb weekly DANAS believes that an open competition for the post of prime minister should be announced, with professional qualifications as the most important condition. Such a prime minister should be completely free to form his own team, even if it is called technocratic (at present the prime minister submits his proposal to the Federal Assembly which confirms it). In such a power relationship, it says, powerful politicians would stay where they belong—on the political scene—to influence the creation of new principles of the political system in a democratic atmosphere.

Prisoners Sentenced for Verbal Offense Pardoned

AU0201154689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 88 p 9

[TANJUG report: "People Sentenced for Verbal Offense Released From Prison"—names in parentheses on the list are fathers' names]

[Text] The last of the prisoners who were sentenced according to Article 133, Paragraph 1 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code (the so-called verbal offense) left penitentiaries yesterday throughout our country. They have been pardoned by an SFRY Presidency decision on the occasion of the new year.

The following are on the list of pardoned people: Aljus (Hakija) Ademaj, Hamez (Haljit) Asljani, Tomo (Ivan) Bogataj, Zekirija (Serat) Burniku, Baki (Riza) Ceka, Dzemail (Sefer) Cerimi, Laslo (Sandor) Cabi, Goran (Milan) Cavic, Skender (Hisen) Dinca, Rizvan (Nesid) Dzaferi, Redzep (Asan) Dzelili, Smajlj (Alija) Halitaj, Kosta (Ivan) Jolic, Mensud (Ranisam) Karagic, Redjep (Sulo) Keljmendi, Muharem (Demo) Kurti, Zivojin (Nenad) Lukic, Hisen (Hadzija) Mehmeti, Hatidze (Mehmed) Morina, Basri (Faik) Musmurati, Miladin (Jova) Nedic, Agim (Ramadan) Sahiti, Rastislav (Milanko) Vranic, Branko (Stjepan) Vrbesic, and Munib (Hasan) Zahiragic.

Prison sentences to the following two people have been changed into suspended sentences which will not be put into effect if the person does not commit another criminal act within a period of 3 years: Zemrija (Hamdija) Selmani (7-month sentence) and Fadilj (Haljilji) Toda (8-month sentence).

Groups Send Thanks

AU0201165389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 88 p 4

[TANJUG report: Gratitude to SFRY Presidency"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec—On the occasion of the SFRY Presidency's decision to pardon people sentenced for the criminal act on the basis of Article 133, Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code, the Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and Citizens' Legal Security today sent a telegram of gratitude to the SFRY Presidency.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and prompted by proposals to reduce criminal prosecution for expressing opinion, on 13 December the Yugoslav Human Rights Forum appealed to the SFRY Presidency to pardon all people sentenced on the basis of Article 133 Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code.

Kosovo Presidency Declares Amnesty

AU3012195288 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] The Kosovo Presidency made a decision at today's meeting to declare an amnesty for some convicted persons. As reported, this decision was made at the suggestion of the provincial Secretariat for Justice, which has recently examined petitions for the amnesty of convicted persons.

Two Ethnic Albanian Soldiers Sentenced

AU0101144389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 88 p 14

[TANJUG report: "Two Soldiers Sentenced"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—The daily OSLOBODJENJE reports that two soldiers from the Mostar Garrison, Rasim Salihu and Sejran Haxhiu, were sentenced to 5 and ½ and 2 and ½ years imprisonment respectively because of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

"It has been proved that Rasim Salihu (26) and Sejran Haxhiu (19), while still in Djakovica, and long before receiving their summons to military service, decided to continue organizing hostile Albanian nationalist and separatist activities in the Yugoslav People's Army. They formed an illegal group in the Mostar garrison and attempted to undermine the Army from within. They were exposed and charged, and were thus unsuccessful in carrying out their plans."

FEC Members, Presidency View Debt Issue

AU0301104789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 88 p 5

["What They Said" Column: Speeches by Oskar Kovac, member of the FEC, and Svetozar Rikanovic, federal secretary for finance, at the joint session of the FEC and SFRY Presidency on 24 October 1988]

[Text] It is obvious that there were some disagreements in the federal government regarding the incorporation of the economy's losses, of the dinar claims within the economy, and of foreign exchange differences into the public debt. This is also proved by the view expressed by Professor Jovan Rankovic, a dissonant voice in Mikulic's commission. This is why it would be interesting to see what FEC members Oskar Kovac (which is perhaps partly the reason for his resignation as a member of the FEC) and Svetozar Rikanovic said about this issue at the joint session of the FEC and the SFRY Presidency on 24 October 1988.

Dr Oskar Kovac:

Internal debts also exist in the republics and province, in other sociopolitical communities, in commercial banks, and in the economy itself. From some of our discussions it appears that we have only now discovered the public debt as an instrument of the budget deficit financing. This is therefore seen as the salutary solution to the bulk of internal debts and questionable debts, and even to the future deficit budgets. Along the same lines, a considerable alleviation of the economy's burden is promised. There is also a tendency for all the entities which have incurred losses—the republics and provinces, sociopolitical organizations, and banks and the economy—to demand from the federation that it take over all the debts, regardless of how they were incurred. These demands are naive, unattractive, and unproductive. This is why certain questions have been raised:

The U.S. Experience

First, what is the "normal" level of the public debt, what is Yugoslavia's position on that, and can Yugoslavia's public debt be increased even more?

Second, who should issue the public debt?

Third, what funds will be needed to repay the public debt in the forthcoming decades?

Before answering these questions let us look at the experience of the biggest OECD country, the United States. In the period 1976-86 the U.S. public debt was between 34.1 and 51.2 percent of the annual national income. According to the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the accumulated losses incurred by the economy and banks in Yugoslavia at the end of 1988 were 42 percent of the estimated national income for this year. If we were to accept all this as a public debt, we should also point out that there are other candidates for such inclusion considering that there are still uncovered parts of the extra-budgetary accounts and the so-called extended fiscal year.

In the United States, the federal debt makes up 75 percent of the total public debt. In Yugoslavia, there is no reliable estimate of losses and questionable losses other than those recorded in the federation. If one takes into account the strength of the economy, low inflation, and the fact that the U.S. federal bonds are bought everywhere in the world because the dollar is a reserve currency, then it would not be normal, in absence of these conditions, if the public debt in Yugoslavia represented a greater part of the national product than it does in the United States....

Which State

The next question is who should be in charge of the public debt and the issuing of bonds? The answer is clear, the state. But what is the real state in Yugoslavia—the republics and provinces? In a confederalist fiscal system, the public debt can be issued by those who have the source of revenue to service the debt. In the United States the federal budget makes up 57 percent of all the budgetary revenue. In Yugoslavia, for instance, the federal budget constituted 17.9 percent of all the revenues from the public sector in 1987. In the United States the federal budget represents 19.5 percent of the national product, while in Yugoslavia the federal budget is 6.6 percent of the national product. If we were to go by the relation between the U.S. federal and public debts and the budget, the federation in Yugoslavia would have to take on 23.6 percent of the public debt itself.

The question of the public debt redemption in Yugoslavia under the conditions of high inflation is a special question. Let us assume that for the federation's extra-budgetary accounts and the budget deficit financing in 1989, we already need to issue and sell bonds worth 10,000 billion dinars. In fact, we would need to issue more, but for the sake of simplicity, let us assume the amount would be 10,000 billion dinars. Let us assume that the redemption period is 20 years and that the real rate of interest is 7 percent. Let us also assume that during next year inflation will be gradually reduced and that at the end of 1989 it will be 150 percent, then 100 percent, 50 percent, 40 percent, 30 percent, and 10 percent at the end of the redemption period. At the end of 1989 we would have to pay out 2,825 billion dinars in respect to revalorization and interest.

However, let us also assume that, in view of inflation, the revalorization of the public debt bonds is financed through the automatic increase of the budget's revenue. What is left to be repaid from the real increase in the budget's revenue is the real interest, which means an increase in the rate of taxation.

In the previous example only the interest due to be repaid in 20 years was 108,175 billion dinars. There is no doubt that transferring the public debt of the federation would require a substantial increase in the federal budget in order to redeem the debt. I am sure that this kind of increase in the federal budget would not be acceptable to the economy, the republics, and the province. The federal government would either go bankrupt, or would have to seek loans from the primary issue, and in this way finance the redemption of debt in an inflationary way. In this way we would, of course, never curb inflation.

Svetozar Rikanovic:

Two things are of key importance for a permanent solution of the foreign exchange differences at the National Bank of Yugoslavia. The first is that in the last 10 years we have managed to put a stop to the further growth of these foreign exchange differences and their concentration in the National Bank of Yugoslavia. This was achieved by amending the Law on Foreign Exchange Businesses on 15 October this year. I believe that the introduction of this law has a special weight and importance, which is almost equal to that of rescheduling our debts.

At the same time we made another step. We forwarded to the SFRY Assembly the Law on Covering Foreign Exchange Debts, incurred by the National Bank of Yugoslavia for a preliminary discussion. The law offers permanent solutions in terms of accepting these foreign exchange differences as a public debt. This has finally removed the veil, and has legalized the existence of deficit financing of the state budget. This deficit financing has reached a level which in other countries would activate all alarms for society to reduce the budget deficit—to bring it into the zone that is economically more bearable. This is why I cannot support the ideas of some federal organs which propose that the current deficit in the federation's extra-budgetary accounts be dealt with by starting a deficit financing of the federation. This is proposed at a time when the total foreign exchange difference in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, including the interest in the next 5 years, is almost as high as eight federal budgets.

Accepting this view today would mean yet another postponement of the need to openly face the enormous social overheads, which were well described in the paper submitted by the SFRY Presidency for today's session as a part of the Presidency's initiative for the rationalization of the total social organization and social overheads.

At the same time, issuing bonds for the current needs of the federal budget would really mean either the creation of a new expenditure which would reach the real positive interest rate that would have to be repaid on such bonds in the coming years, or new strong inflationary impulses, which would not produce a hope that inflation could be reduced in the coming years, or even decades.

I must oppose the possibility of this practice with all of my expert conviction and responsibility. I also hold the view that the practice of financing a part of public expenditure by issuing bonds, as is done in the world, is normal, but only when this is done through a controllable budget deficit, and not in a situation in which this deficit could not only exceed the total state budget, but is almost one-half of the national income.

Milojko Drulovic Dies Following Illness

LD0301214489 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Summary] Milojko Drulovic, a member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, died this afternoon in Belgrade after a short illness at the age of 65. From 1963 to 1967 he was a member of the Executive Council of the Serbian LC Central Committee and in 1967 he was elected director and chief and executive editor of POLITIKA. Between 1973 and 1978 he was the Yugoslav ambassador in the People's Republic of China and between 1982 and 1986 Yugoslav Ambassador in the USSR.

SAWPY Issues Statement

LD0301214789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jan (TANJUG)—After a short and serious illness, Milojko Drulovic-Cica, a member of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference and a distinguished Yugoslav revolutionary, bearer of the 1941 Partisan Veterans' award, diplomat and writer, died this afternoon, aged 65.

Milojko Drulovic devoted his entire life to the struggle for the liberation of the working class, the affirmation of independent and nonaligned foreign policy, and the development of self-management in theory and practice and its popularization in the world. He obtained social acclaim for his work on numerous occasions.

With the death of Milojko Drulovic our community has lost a worthy public worker, a man of great political culture who was adorned with the characteristics of a communist in the mold of Tito, and a consistent fighter for the development of the SAWP as a democratic front.

Dizdarevic Sends Condolences

LD0301214589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jan (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the death of Milojko Drulovic, a member of the LCY Central Committee and of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, Raif Dizdarevic, President of the SFRY Presidency, has sent, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and in his own name, condolences to the Drulovic family. The telegram stresses that Milojko Drulovic had, during his rich revolutionary life, expressed all the finest qualities of a Yugoslav communist, fighter, leader, and

diplomat and that he had always stood firmly alongside the people, making a great contribution to the well-being of the working man and to the advancement of socialist self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia.

Public Prosecutor Dies 2 Jan
LD0201132789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 13000 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Summary] Novi Sad, 2 Jan (TANJUG)—Milos Bakic, federal public prosecutor, died suddenly in Novi Sad today. He was 60.

Milosevic Meets Journalists on Press Functions
AU3012120388 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 88 p 1

[TANJUG report: "The Press Is the Same as Yugoslav the Country"]

[Text] "Our press is the same as Yugoslavia is as a country. The divisions in society have been reflected in the divisions in the press." This was stated yesterday by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee, during his visit to the offices of VECERNJE NOVOSTI. Having congratulated the paper on its 35th anniversary and expressed the wish that VECERNJE NOVOSTI continue its critical and constructive writing—this means objectively, in a way which would best contribute to overcoming the crisis—Slobodan Milosevic held talks with editors and journalists of this and other papers published by the BORBA organization.

Asked what he thought about the Yugoslav press, Slobodan Milosevic said, among other things, that every republic and province has its own press. "It expresses the prevailing politics of the particular region. An open, progressive, and humane orientation in the press reflects an open, progressive, and humane orientation in the region in which it works. And vice versa, a conservative and cynical orientation in the press reflects the corresponding politics and climate of its region. The press cannot be expected to be more objective than the central committees, the assembly, and the government. If it could achieve this, if it were to be so, then it would deserve great, historical merit for the defense of Yugoslavia, socialism, and human dignity," Milosevic said.

An interview with Slobodan Milosevic will be published in the New Year's edition of VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

Milosevic Interviewed on Reforms, Kosovo
LD3012114088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0923 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Dec (TANJUG)—Serbia and all other federal units will be contributing to the creation of conditions for the development of a modern, powerful, and prosperous Yugoslavia by the abolition of policy based on personal and group interests, and by the establishment of policy based on economic and political justice. Serbia will provide its contribution by struggling for a society without economic exploitation, without a political hierarchy, national intolerance, or cultural isolation.

This was stressed by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Cenral Committee Presidium, in talks with editors and journalists of VECERNJE NOVOSITI and other publication of the BORBA work organization. Milosevic visited VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Wednesday in connection with its 35th anniversary, and answered a number of questions put to him by Radisav Brajovic, the chief editor. The content of these talks will be published in tomorrow's new year edition of VECERNJE NOVOSTI. I believe Yugoslav society can find a way out of the stagnation in which it now is, given specific conditions, said Slobodan Milosevic in the talks, and went on to specify these conditions. The first thing which is needed, he said is large-scale cadre renewal which must begin from the top and then encompass the whole of society. Second is social reform which contains a program of economic, political, and cultural changes. The economic changes should ensure greater labor productivity and higher living standards. The political changes should ensure the functioning of a modern, efficient, but also a socialist, democratic state. The cltural changes should facilitate conditions for the free development of science, education, and art so that they are in tune with but also contribute to the humane and progressive development of our society and the modern world in general.

I believe that the mobilization for such a program will abolish small and large-scale hatred, which at present characterizes our social life. This hatred and the crisis go together. They feed each other. But they also disappear together.

Replying to a question on whether the three proclaimed reforms mean the beginning of the development of this modern Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic said: One can only talk conditionally of the three reforms. I do not see three reforms but one reform. The fragmentation of the reform and the separation of one from another has also brought Yugoslavia into a situation in which not one reform has succeeded. All of society must be reformed—from the economy to education. All of its areas are directed one toward the other and depend on each other. Changes in the economic sense cannot be carried out without changes in the LC and vice versa.

If real and essential changes are to be carried out, then this will be more than a reform. The word reform relates to the repairing of what exists. However, we should not repair and touch up anything, but develop Yugoslavia in line with the positive achievements of our revolution, as well as in line with the fresh orientation imposed by the development of the modern world and the experience of our own society.

Milosevic went on to reply, in connection with the situation in Kosovo, that his expectations are absolutely optimistic despite the recent escalation in the separatist forces. There are no forces which will halt the liquidation of the consequences of the counterrevolution in Kosovo. On the contrary, this would mean reconciliation with the threat to the country's survival. Unless Kosovo is resolved, there is no Yugoslavia either. So there is no question of pessimism.

Asked to comment on the old slogans "A weak Serbia—a strong Yugoslavia" or "A strong Serbia—a week Yugoslavia", Slobodan Milosevic specified that these are outmoded terms, just as the policy to which they relate is outmoded. A new policy is being born, and if slogans are needed, let slogans appropriate to the new policy be thought up. The past should remain in the memory, just as lessons should be learned from it. This is all.

Milosevic also replied to several questions on the economic reforms. In this context he pointed out the decisive role of the market, which objectively gives its verdict as to how to operate commercially and as to what should be decided in terms of investment and all other decisions. These are key conditions for increasing the efficiency of business operations, and at the same time, major changes to the economic system, which constitute the very core of the economic reforms.

These changes must, in the nature of things, be clearer to workers because they are the ones who generate new values. Thus they are also called on to impose their class criteria on those who mainly only consume this value, but often have a crucial influence on its distribution. Hence the reforms cannot be merely economic but also, to the largest extent, class reforms, so that we can return to the economy the material basis of social power. We can also return it to where it belongs and to those who are creating this basis, Slobodan Milosevic said in his talks, which are published in full in tomorrow's edition of VERCERNJE NOVOSTI.

Macedonian Assembly President Criticizes Suvar

AU0301161689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 88 p 2

[D. N. report: "Foundation on Foundation"]

[Text] Skopje, 28 Dec—Speaking in the Tetovo Communal Assembly today, Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly, said that in the last few months "certain unchecked and unfounded insinuations were made to the effect that the basic provision of the Macedonian Constitution, which clearly defines the equal constitutional-legal position of Albanian and Turkish nationalities in the SR of Macedonia, will undergo changes to the detriment of the Albanian nationality as a constituent part of the Macedonian state." Vulnet Starova said that such claims—contained in the concluding speech by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, delivered at the last LCY Central Committee Presidium session, as well as in a commentary in the Zagreb VJESNIK—are incorrect and extremely damaging.

Vulnet Starova said that the proposal of the Macedonian Presidency concerning changes to the republican Constitution, and thus the draft amendments to the republican Constitution, did not raise the question of changing the definition of the SR of Macedonia which is set in Article 1 of the republican Constitution. Vulnet Starova said that the public debate raised, among other questions and proposals, the question of defining the SR of Macedonia, but not in order to "reduce this definition to the detriment of the constitutional-legal position of Albanian and Turkish nationalities as constituent parts of the Macedonian state, which stem from the Constitution's provisions, but primarily in order to broaden this definition in view of the fact that the SR of Macedonia is a state which also belongs to other Yugoslav peoples and nationalities who live in it." Vulnet Starova said that the principles of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and ASNOM [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Macedonia] have been and will remain the foundations on which future constitutional provisions of the SR of Macedonia will be built.

Vulnet Starova also spoke about other "untruths that are being spread at the expense of all measures and activities undertaken in the SR of Macedonia and which are aimed at curbing great Albanian nationalism and strengthening mutual trust." He said that "numerous attempts that are aimed at devaluing the efforts made in this respect in Macedonia are worrying." He mentioned the campaign conducted against the resolution concerning the population policy in Macedonia and the petition of Kosovo philosophers, sociologists, writers, and teachers of Albanian language and so forth, and stressed that the "misuse of democratic dialogue has contributed to the spreading of untruth, the belittling of the total social results—and in this context the realization of the national freedom and affirmation of Albanian nationality in the Sr of Macedonia—the negation of the LC policy, the creation of a gap between Macedonian and Albanian nationalities, and the destabilization of relations in Macedonia with the ultimate aim of undermining the fundamental constitutional principles and the sociopolitical system in general." Vulnet Starova also said that "we cannot be satisfied with the fact that we have to continuously defend ourselves from such untruths and that their proponents continue to work and act from those positions under the cloak of democracy. In conclusion, Vulnet Starova raised the question of the accountability of those who are conducting attacks from such positions.

Kucan Interviewed on LCY Role in Reform

LD3112174288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 31 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Slovenia

Central Committee Milan Kucan assessed in an interview to the Yugoslav fortnightly OKO that the historic credit, with which the League of Communists was covering the discrepancy between words and action, has been used up.

"Payments with high interest have fallen due." People are dissatisfied. They seek a more capable leadership, ready to work and not only to promise. In the race against historical time, the League of Communists is burdened by a twenty-year-long uncritical insistence on the perfection of its own concept of development. The fact that the status quo has so long existed in Yugoslavia and the crisis is deepening proves that no one has control over the situation, the leader of the Slovene Communists believes.

Kucan said that that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) was facing the task of critically examining the nature, meaning, fundamental values and developmental options of socialism. For the time being, he maintains, Yugoslavia has merely well-conceived plans and minor normative victories in fighting the crisis.

Kucan told the Zagreb periodical that the League of Communists should make it possible for people to themselves gain affirmation in democratic socialism, with a sure quality of life and freedom of work and thought. The League of Communists has to turn people's dissatisfaction into the motivation for change in the direction of European achievements, into tackling the economic, social, ideological and political causes of the crisis. This is the meaning of the creation of a front of reformist, progressive and patriotic forces, for reforms cannot be the concern of the Communists alone. New forces and new people, not those reponsible for the crisis, can yield results, he said.

On the new political ideas in Slovenia, Kucan said that some of them were controversial because of their attitude towards socialism and the Yugoslav idea and because they could lead to splitting Yugoslavia. He urged the inclusion of acceptable movements into the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia organization, which should be radically renewed in order to enable activities alternative to official views. He held the question of party pluralism to be of secondary importance and said that the primary issue was to enable political pluralism.

Kucan said that there was no success without observing the differences from which unity emerges, while linking Yugoslavia together means to successfully bring about the project of socialism.

Yugoslavia can first and foremost be jeopardized by economic poverty, impotence of the system and dissensions, Kucan said. A life with inflation, the daily rate of which is tantamount to the annual one in developed European countries, is a great sacrifice. These are among other things, the real causes of the problems of Kosovo Province, he maintains. These causes should be dealt with regardless of the consequences of the 1981 demonstrations staged by Albanian chauvinists and separatists in Kosovo. The demonstrations have only further destabilized political relations in the province and aggravated national intolerance to the utmost, Kucan said.

Slovene Democratic Union Outlines Program

AU3112194988 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 23 Dec 88 p 2

["Program Statement by the Slovene Democratic Union"]

[Text] Because of the present inefficiency and lack of success of the existing political system;
because of the unsatisfactory position of Slovenia, which is reflected in unitarian and centralist strivings in some parts of Yugoslavia;
because Slovenia and Yugoslavia are lagging behind the development of Europe; and
because of repeated violations of basic human and civil rights in Slovenia and Yugoslavia,
we will found the Slovene Democratic Union [Slovenska Demokraticna Zveza], which will have the following aims:

1. The main goal of the Slovene Democratic Union [SDU] is as a movement to establish parliamentary democracy, and therefore it will devote its activities to this goal: establishment of parliamentary democracy! In these activities it will cooperate with other democratic forces.

2. The SDU assesses and adjusts the Slovene social and political situation according to developed Europe. The SDU advocates political pluralism and protects the opinion of a minority. This means that it strives for a parliamentary system, for a competition of political ideas, and for free elections. The SDU firmly insists on the sovereignty of the Slovene state, denoting Yugoslavia as a contractual community of peoples living on its territory.

3. The first task the SDU sets itself is to frame a new Slovene Constitution that will be based on human rights and that will clearly redefine Slovene statehood, relations with other Yugoslav peoples, Slovene defense policy, and institutions of political and economic democracy in Slovenia. The SDU, together with other groups that think alike, will prepare the convention of a constitutional council that will offer an acceptable constitution to the Slovene people on the basis of confirmed self-determination. We are convinced that only a constitution adopted by the citizens in a referendum will be legitimate. There is no sovereignty without democracy, and no democracy without sovereignty!

4. The SDU exists within the SAWP, but it acts autonomously, and at the same time it advocates autonomy of the SAWP within the Slovene and Yugoslav political

framework. The SDU takes seriously the SAWP's publicly declared intention to democratize itself. The SDU also takes seriously the LC plan "to descend from power" and offers its assistance for this descent. The SDU rejects the cadre policy that has been the norm through all the years since the war and that is based on a political monopoly of the party. Until an "even better and more democratic" system is invented, the SDU will advocate the right of citizens to have access to public service regardless of their origin, sex, conviction, religion, or sexual orientation.

5. To avoid tyranny, power must be divided: The judiciary should control the legislative and the executive branches of government! The key question is the independence of judges and their being upright citizens, especially the Constitutional Court judges! The SDU believes that military courts should be abolished in peacetime. The SDU will take clear positions on questions of economic, educational, cultural, scientific, health, retirement... policy. The SDU will propose and support its own candidates in political competition; it will participate in establishing public and unbiased control over decisionmaking processes.

6. We strive for effective control by the state and civilian society over the Armed Forces, police, and the intelligence services. A necessary part of this control is the abolition of military courts in peacetime, depriving military personnel of their virtual immunity [eksteritorialnost], control over the military budget, elimination of the ideological bias of the Armed Forces, and encouragement of civilian investigations of their activities, which must be legal. It is obvious that we will advocate equality of languages in the Yugoslav People's Army and a recognition of conscientious objection!

7. The SDU supports the care for, and organizes actions to preserve the natural cultural and historical heritage of the Slovenes inside and outside the borders of the Slovenia SR. It therefore rejects the "cultural revolution" that turned man into a "direct producer in associated labor"; it rejects economic megalomania and the political humility that assisted in the destruction of Slovene land.

8. With public criticism and influence through legal institutions, the SDU will take care that no political, economic, or any other machinations and speculations will remain hidden from citizens of Slovenia. The SDU sharply opposes the wasteful spending and "spillage" of the accumulation of the Slovene economy. There can be no national substance without economic substance, and without the former, there looms the danger of equality in poverty, social disorders, interethnic disputes, and ultimately mass emigration and the extinction of Slovenes!

VJESNIK's Treatment of Serbia Criticized

Protests Held

AU0401195889 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 88-3 Jan 89 p 4

[R.I. report: "Protests Held in Front of VJESNIK Office in Belgrade"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—On Friday [30 December] around 1100, a group of about 40 citizens carrying banners and shouting slogans gathered in front of the VJESNIK office on Nemanjina Street. This group of citizens, who had previously gathered in the park near the Belgrade railroad station, arrived in front of the VJESNIK office and shouted the following slogans: "Go to Zagreb," "Leave Serbia alone," "You have sold your souls," "Vrhovec—Vatican," "VJESNIK and DANAS are dangerous for us," "Dragosavac—VJESNIK," "VJESNIK—RILINDJA," "VJESNIK is Albanian," "We shall burn down VJESNIK," "VJESNIK, DELO give us the truth," "Stanovnik—traitor," "No more lies," "Write the truth," "We will come to Zagreb," "Death to coalition" [alluding to the phrase "unprincipled coalition" used by LCY Presidium member Vasil Tupurkovski at the 17th LCY Central Committee session on 17-19 October], "VJESNIK lies," "Out with Suvar," "Out with Vrhovec," "Down with the police," "You asked for Pazova," and so on.

Some of the banners read as follows: "VJESNIK Journalists Are Servants of Vrhovec's Policy," "Zagorac [VJESNIK Journalist Djuro Zagorac, member of the Serbian Journalists Association Presidium]—Fraud in Serbian Journalists Association," "We Will Let Nobody Harm Serbia," and so on. From what we could learn from an inspector from the Savski Venac Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, this group of citizens had arrived from Nova Pazova and "properly" announced its arrival to corresponding communal bodies.

Slogans

After spending a short time in front of the VJESNIK office, these citizens walked to the Savski Venac Communal LC Committee.

After standing in front of the Communal Committee building, on 32 Milos Pocerac Street, for more than ½ hour, the demonstrators were allowed to come inside. There they waited for 1 hour to talk to members of the Belgrade LC City Committee because committee President Rados Smiljkovic, with whom they wanted to talk, was not in Belgrade. They were told earlier that City LC Committee member Dusan Mitevic and Bozidar Bogdanovic, president of the Commission for Information of the City LC Committee, were going to arrive. After 1 hour Bogdanovic and Stanoje Djuric, executive secretary of the City LC Committee, arrived. [passage omitted] Bogdanovic suggested that five city committee members go to Vrsac, Smederevo, Pazova, and Pancevo to hold

talks there, but the demonstrators did not agree to that. Miodrag Skulic took the floor on their behalf and said that they will come to Belgrade themselves next Wednesday or Thursday. He also read the paper signed not only by these demonstrators, but allegedly by over 3,000 people from different Serbian towns as well. The paper listed complaints mostly against the work of the journalists in the VJESNIK Belgrade office. The paper was also addressed to the Serbian Journalists Association and the district public prosecutor's office.

Controversial Books

Among other things, Miodrag Skulic said that VJESNIK of 12 November carried Predrag Tasic's article entitled "The Card of the Great Scenario Writers," which includes monstrous accusations against the Serbian people and the republican leadership. The culmination of these accusations is the assertion that Serbian leaders want to have the leading position in the federation, which is not true, Skulic said. This is why a group of citizens filed criminal charges against this journalist and asked the Savski Venac Communal LC Committee to reexamine the way in which not only Tasic, but also other VJESNIK correspondents write, and to differente among them. Although as LC members they were obliged to implement the conclusions of the Eighth Serbian LC Central Committee session, Skulic said, VJESNIK journalists forged facts about the Serbian people's feelings. At the same time, VJESNIK supported Bogdan Bogdanovic, Ivan Stambolic, and Draza Markovic, whose management of the Serbian economy led to a $1.1 billion loss. Books by Ivan Stambolic, Markovic, Bogdanovic, and Dragisa Pavlovic, the people who have caused the whole republic to regress, are published in Zagreb. [passage omitted]

Working people of this country do care about what journalists are doing, Skulic said, or who writes for newspapers. The fact that members of that profession are allowed to do anything they want was proved by VJESNIK's reports from Kosovo, which encouraged Albanian nationalism, and particularly reports by Nadira Avdic-Vllasi, who writes as if she were based in Tirana. We cannot tolerate that. We are not asking much, Skulic said; we are only asking for peaceful life in Kosovo. We now trust the Serbian leadership and know that it will fulfill its vow to the people that Serbia will soon act as a state over its entire territory. City Committee President Rados Smiljkovic was asked to speed up differentiation in the Serbian Journalists Association because, demonstrators claim, it is full of Ivan Stambolic's people who are working against the present leadership. One must stop those people who undermine relations between the Serbian and Croatian people, Skulic said, and concluded his speech by saying that VJESNIK must not be an organ of the coalition and DANAS its ideological leader.

After these demands had been presented, Bogdanovic said that this will be discussed in detail and in public most probably next Thursday. Although they were asked to disperse (a bus was prepared to take them home), the citizens gathered together again and went to the Serbian Journalists Association to repeat their demands there.

Belgrade SAWP Responds

AU0401213689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] We have just received a report from today's meeting of the secretariat of the Belgrade City Conference SAWP Section for Information which discussed the article "Campaign Against Journalists" in the VJESNIK newspaper. In this connection, the following stands were taken:

VJESNIK's article proceeded from the protest by a group of citizens which took place on 30 December last year because of untrue and offensive writing in VJESNIK and especially because of unacceptable stands and assertions in the article "The Card of the Great Scenario Writers" in the 12 November 1988 edition. During the protest by citizens, who earlier had even filed criminal charges against the authors of these articles, there were also unacceptable shouts and the expression of hostility and stands that are not in line with the policy of brotherhood and unity and the democratic solution of problems in the area of information and interethnic relations.

Instead of the VJESNIK journalists condemning this unacceptable conduct and unacceptable stands, VJESNIK used several half-truths, untruths, and untenable generalizations criticizing the whole of the Belgrade community and creating the impression that newspaper correspondents could not conduct their work there.

There was also no word of self-criticism because of the texts that have so far been published in VJESNIK from this community, texts which have already been sharply criticized by this SAWP and the party organization of the VJESNIK office in Belgrade.

The fact was also hushed up that a group of 23 citizens also had talks in the Savski Venac Communal Committee and that individuals from that committee found themselves a target of this protest.

VJESNIK's commentary also hushed up the fact that Milisav Petronijevic, president of the SAWP Communal Conference, and Vasa Radulovic, president of the Savski Venac Veterans Association Communal Council, met on the same day with representatives from VJESNIK's office and that it was stressed on that occasion that the SAWP condemns all forms of uncivilized behavior and especially threats of violence which individuals had expressed in the aforementioned [word indistinct] during the protest.

Because of all this, VJESNIK's intention of representing Belgrade as a community in which it is impossible to work [word indistinct] and moreover in which the expulsion of VJESNIK's office and its editions is threatened, is unacceptable.

Advocating the best relations possible and assessing the traditionally rich and good links between Belgrade and Zagreb, the secretariat of the SAWP City Conference Section for Information resolutely rejects this manipulation of half-truths and untruths and the malicious representation of the Belgrade community with the aim of destroying fraternal relations between the towns. This was facilitated by the conduct of a number of irresponsible individuals and some of the shouts and stands voiced on this occasion.

In the further activity of the Belgrade SAWP organs, the Serbian Journalists Association, the VJESNIK Belgrade office, and the organs of Savski Venac where the office is situated, everything should be done to explain and eliminate these disagreements with the aim of securing full, prompt, and objective reporting, as an important component of the further development of interethnic relations and the policy of brotherhood and unity in our country.

VJESNIK Rebuffs Charges

AU0501090489 Zagreb VJESNIK (Panorama Subotom (Supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov p 5

[Commentary by Predrag Tasic, VJESNIK commentator in Belgrade: "The Card of the Great Scenario Writers"]

[Text] I am convinced that many leaders of the VJESNIK newspaper publishing house have refrained from replying to POLITIKA attacks against VJESNIK correspondents in Belgrade, not wanting to play the card they were generously offered by the Great Scenario Writers.

Before providing a direct answer to the question of what card we are offered in the game called the liberalization of Yugoslavia, I must say that there are all sorts of people in every house, every town, every country: sick people, healthy people, obedient people, rebellious people, clever people, stupid people.... Every one of them has the right to his own opinion. However, if a newspaper publishes one of these opinions, it takes upon itself part of the responsibility for the author's views. For instance, a certain veterinarian used to send me analyses of various newspaper articles, including some written by me. They were first encoded, and then conclusions were drawn on the basis of these codes. Had the VJESNIK chief editor, on my initiative, published his views, he would have then borne responsibility for doing so—even after the author underwent a check of his mental health—because he approves the paper every day and bears responsibility for everything that appears in it, from the front to the back page.

We must be aware of the fact that all sorts of people (not all of them healthy) write letters to newspapers, something which is neither horrible nor tragic in itself, at least not more tragic than their health. However, if a newspaper makes use of such people, then it does so in order to manipulate their views, however meaningless and unbelievable they may be. Our reality over the past several months convinces us that not only individuals, but entire peoples are being manipulated. It seems that we have entered the times of unscrupulous and immoral people, the times when one does not even shrink from "creating" nonexistent people (so that they can appear in newspapers as authors of letters to the editor) with a view to achieving certain political aims.

The aim that POLITIKA and the Great Scenario Writers want to reach is the rise of Croatian nationalism as an answer to the mass movement in Serbia! The VJESNIK office in Belgrade is also used for that purpose. It is being accused of supporting Croatian leadership, of being—as could be heard at a recent meeting— a "spy and Ustasha center in Belgrade," of not seeing the troubles of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, and of being against "these poor people." The point of these incessant and increasing attacks is to make VJESNIK enter the war defending its correspondents from these wicked and untrue accusations. When VJESNIK picks up the gauntlet that has been thrown, the Croatian people will begin to feel increasingly threatened, it will first begin to feel afraid and then to hate. Sooner or later, its nationalism will also be resurrected.

Why is it necessary to wake up Croatian nationalism, which, burdened by the heavy defeat in the past, is only waiting for an opportunity for an aggressive appearance on the scene? Because one thereby creates objective conditions for gathering all Serbs in Yugoslavia on the national (or nationalist) platform and for the continued provocation of not only verbal conflicts. It is necessary to use all means—among which propaganda is the most powerful—to make all Serbs in the entire country act homogeneously, because when all types of nationalism awaken, you must join your own people if you want to save just your own life. The purpose of this game in which the people are only the object of manipulation—manipulation by all kinds of bureaucracy, not only this militant one—is to enthrone their own man on the federal seat. At the same time, a strong federal authority makes it easier to take all the strings in one's hands.

For a long time VJESNIK refused the offered card of the final division of Yugoslavia, offering POLITIKA and the Great Scenario Writers the hand of reconciliation and forgiveness. However, they did not want to use, let alone accept, all these hands offered from Zagreb and Belgrade. Finally, they forced the card into our hands. However, let them know that more cards are left in the game and that VJESNIK and its Belgrade correspondents will remain on the bulwark of the idea of Yugoslavia.

Serbian Students at Pristina Submit Complaints

AU3112214888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 88 p 4

[R. Barjaktevic report: "Change the Kosovo Youth Leadership"]

[Text] Pristina, 26 Dec—We demand that the president and presidium members of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Provincial Committee be called to account and replaced at once. We demand the same in regard to the present membership of the University Federation of Socialist Youth Conference.

This was the first of a total of 36 demands by students of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality at the University of Pristina, presented in a petition signed recently by 1,500 students. In the meantime, a second "petition" launched by the students aktiv of the village of Gracanica is circulating among students of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, emphasizing, among other things, that "the Federation of Socialist Youth Conference at the university has done almost nothing in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism," but has in some ways contributed toward further indoctrination." [quotation marks as received]

Today's meeting by representatives of students of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality that took place at the University Rectorate presented many examples on national inequality and chicanery which have led to complete national division, distrust, fear, and insecurity at this higher educational institution and to the increasing emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins to other university centers in the country.

A delegation of the Belgrade University Federation of Socialist Youth Conferenc,e led by Goran Tondic, and officials from the Pristina University Rectorate were present at the meeting.

The students of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality demand the exposure of those who have indoctrinated young people with Albanian nationalism and separatism. Many are immigrants from Albania or their sons who are teaching at the university. We demand that elections in the Federation of Socialist Youth be carried out on the principle of parity, and not on the principle of four-to-one as hitherto, that the principle of favoring the majority be rejected, along with decisionmaking by powerful people who hold in their hands the so-called "national key" in employment questions.

We demand the revival of Cyrillic script, and that students of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality also be able to watch television programs in Serbo-Croatian in the student dormitories, instead of only in Albanian. In short, we demand the order and discipline that would give us equal standing and equality. The students are demanding help from those most responsible in preventing the organized lawlessness which has been directed against Serbo-Croatian-speaking students for years.

Slovene Youth Criticize Republican SAWP

AU0401201089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] The leadership of the Italian Radicals has arrived in Bohinj. Their leader, Marco Pannella, has also arrived. The Italian Radicals have come at the invitation of the president of the Slovene youth organization.

Speaking of which, the Slovene youth organization is dissatisfied with its position as a collective member within the SAWP, which hinders more than it helps in the struggle for the realization of its ideas. Here is a report from Relje Atanasijevic in Ljubljana:

[Begin Atanasijevic recording] The leadership of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation, which has an exceptionally nice view of it own work, is very critically inclined toward other sociopolitical organizations in the republic and their leaderships. The Slovene SAWP Republican Conference has now become the target for their sharp criticism. The leading people of the Slovene youth organization claim that the republican conference behaves in a more monolithic way than the LC even though it talks and talks about political pluralism.

The essence of the reproaches, as Joze Skolc, president of the Slovene youth organization, states, is in the fact that the SAWP proceeds from the principle that all the different viewpoints of its collective members should be harmonized even when this is obviously impossible. That is why, adds Skolc, different interests and ideas are not taken into account in the SAWP and why the voice of the Socialist Youth Federation, which has been a step or two ahead of the SAWP leadership and the LC in many reforming exploits, is not respected. These steps relate to the democratization of society, the protection of human rights, (?projects) of the youth's European policy, the demonopolization of cadre policy, the struggle of young people for power, and so on.

Representatives of the Slovene SAWP reproach with mild irony the Socialist Youth Federation of their republic because there are no young people in local communities and communes. It has become an almost unwritten rule that they jump over the usual ways to success and (?are the first to) [word indistinct] the republican positions of decisionmaking and power. [end recording]

Obviously the young people of Slovenia know which positions are valuable and which armchairs are the most comfortable.

Vojvodina Veterans Elect New President

AU0301100389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Jovan Stokovac Is President"]

[Text] National hero Jovan Stokovac was today elected as the new president of the Provincial Council of the Vojvodina Federation of Veterans' Associations. Vojvodina veterans extended absolute support to his election.